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A

JOURNAL of a VOYAGE

Made in the

HANNIBAL of *London*, Ann. 1693 [illegible]

From ENGLAND to

[illegible] AFRICA,

And from

BARBADOES

TO

[illegible] of the COUNTRY, the PEOPLE,
[illegible] NERS, FORTS, TRADE, &c.

By Thomas Phillips, Commander of the said Ship.

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Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

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JOURNAL of a VOYAGE

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HANNIBAL of *London*, Ann. 1693, 1694,

From ENGLAND, to

Cape MONSERADOE, in AFRICA;

And thence along the Coaſt of

Guiney *to* Whidaw, *the Iſland of St.* Thomas,

And ſo forward to

BARBADOES.

WITH A

Curſory ACCOUNT of the COUNTRY, the PEOPLE, their MANNERS, FORTS, TRADE, &c.

By THOMAS PHILLIPS, Commander of the ſaid Ship.

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[A Collection of voyages and travels. 6.]

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[1732]

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A JOURNAL of a VOYAGE from *England* to *AFRICA*, and ſo forward to *BARBADOES*, in the Years 1693, and 1694.

The author taken by the French.

IT was my misfortune, as well as many others this laſt war with *France*, in my voyage home from *Venice* and *Zant*, in the *William* of two hundred tons, and twenty guns, to fall into the clutches of three great *French* men of war, of ſeventy guns each, in the ſoundings, about ſixty leagues S. W. from *Cape Clear* in *Ireland*. There being ſo great an inequality in our ſtrength, and no hopes of eſcaping, I thought it prudence to ſubmit without any reſiſtance, and not have my men kill'd and wounded to no purpoſe; for they had five hundred men each, and I but thirty in all; therefore I was forc'd to let might overcome right, and upon ſummons by a ſhot athwart our fore foot, from the *Crown* of ſeventy braſs guns, which came firſt up with us, to ſtrike our enſign, and become their prize. We were treated very civilly by Chevalier *de Monbroun* on board the *Crown*, who convey'd us carefully to *Breſt*, and oblig'd me to viſit a country which at that time I had a perfect averſion to. After my return to *England*, I was for ſome time deſtitute of employment, until my ever honoured patron and benefactor, Sir *Jeffrey Jeffreys*, Knt. out of his extraordinary generoſity and good will to me, underſtanding that the ſhip *Hannibal* of four hundred and fifty tons, and thirty-ſix guns, was to be ſold, gave me orders to buy her. Having done this he was pleas'd to depoſite the money for her preſently out of his own pocket; and after, by his intereſt, to bring in his worthy brother, *John Jeffreys*, Eſq; *Sam. Stanyer*, Eſq; then ſub-governor of the *African* company, and ſome other eminent merchants, to be part-owners with me, and then to recommend me and the ſhip to the royal *African* company of *England*; from whom, upon his account, I found acceptance: Being enter'd into their ſervice, on a trading voyage to *Guiney*, for elephants teeth, gold, and *Negro* ſlaves; and having the needful cargoes on board, wherewith to purchaſe them, as well as ſupplies of merchandize, ſtores, &c. for the company's caſtles and factories; my buſineſs being compleated at *London*, I took boat for *Graveſend* the fifth of *September* in the evening, and got on board about eleven at night, with money to pay my men their river-pay, and one month's pay advance-money, as *per* agreement.

PHILLIPS.

Goes on board.

Septemb. 1693.

Tueſday the 5th, I cleared the ſhip at *Graveſend*, the wind at N. E. dirty weather.

The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, I had the wind at N. E. freſh gale, paid my men their wages to the fifth inſtant.

Sunday the 10th in the morning, we broke ground from *Graveſend*, and drove with the ebb to the upper end of the *Hope*, where we chop'd to an anchor, and in the evening I went up to *Graveſend*.

Monday the 11th. This day having paid my debts, and finiſh'd my buſineſs, I took my leave of agent *Nurſe*, and ſome other friends, and in the evening came on board, wind from W. N. W. to W. S. W. eaſy gales.

Tueſday the 12th. This morning about three o'clock we got under ſail, with a brave gale at W. At nine we were paſt the *Nore*, where we drove till one in the evening, waiting for water, at which time we bore away for the red ſand, and about four got through the Narrow, and at ſix anchor'd off the *North Foreland*, in nine fathom water, it bearing S. by W. of us.

Wedneſday the 13th. At four this morning we got up our anchors, with the wind at S. W. and after ſeveral tacks, about eleven we came to an anchor in the *Downs*, in eight fathom water, the *South Foreland* bearing S. by E. Here rid admiral *Nevil* with the union-flag at miſſen top-maſt head, whom I ſaluted with eleven guns, and was anſwer'd with nine. In the afternoon he and

Returns to England.

Buys the Hannibal.

Enters into the ſervice of the African *company.*

PHILLIPS. 1693. Capt. *Cole*, in another third rate man of war, ſet ſail on ſome important affairs, for *Copenhagen*, in *Denmark*, and left Capt. *Wiſhart* in the *Swiftſhire*, admiral of the *Downs*, where we lay with our yards and top-maſts lower'd, having very ſtormy weather, and the wind conſtantly between October. the S. and W. Until the fifth of *October*, in the morning, we had fair weather, ſmooth ſea, and a ſmall gale of wind at S. S. W. which towards evening veer'd about to the S. E. and E. and invited us, and the reſt of the outward bound ſhips, in the *Downs*, to go to ſea; of which thoſe for *Guiney* were, the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, of thirty guns, Capt. *Thomas Shurley* commander; the *Hannibal* of thirty-ſix guns, *Thomas Phillips*, for the gold coaſt; the *Mediterranean* of twenty-four guns, Capt. *Daniel*, for *Angola*; the *Jeffrey* of twelve guns, Capt. *Somes*, for the *Bite*; the *Fortune* of twelve guns, Capt. *Hereford*, for *Angola*; and the *Eagle* packet boat, Capt. *Perry*, for *Gambo* and the coaſt. We having agreed among ourſelves, that Capt. *Thomas Shurley*, who had been long acquainted with the *Guiney* trade, ſhould give ſailing orders, ſhape the courſe, and carry the light; we came on board to unmoor our ſhips, and about eight were *Set ſail.* under ſail, and ſtood out of the *Downs*, with a ſmall gale at E. S. E. till ten, when the gale dullering, and the flood being made, we came to an anchor in ten fathom, under the *South Foreland*, where we rid till four in the morning, then with the tide of ebb, we weigh'd, having a freſh gale at S. S. E. which about eight veer'd to S. and S. by E. increaſing, ſo as Capt. *Shurley* lying by, to ſpeak with me, we agreed, that perceiving no probability of a fair wind, but great likelihood of bad weather, it was not prudence to beat the ſea, in regard as well of the danger of the enemy, as of the ſtormy ſeaſon of the year; whereupon we reſolved to ſtand into the *Downs* again; accordingly Capt. *Shurley* having given the ſignal, bore up, and the reſt of our *Guiney* fleet after him, while I lay muzled to bring up the rear. When all the fleet were paſt me I fill'd my ſails and ſtood after them; the *South Foreland* then bearing N. by E. but we had not gone a quarter of an hour large, ere we were envelop'd in the thickeſt fog I ever knew, ſo that we could not ſee the ſhip's length before us. I ſteer'd away N. N. E. for moſt part, but was often forc'd to edge into the ſhore, to keep clear of ſome ſhips that were on my off-ſide, and preſs'd hard upon me, ſo that I ſhoal'd my water to ſix fathom; but then haling off to nine fathom, I reſolv'd to run no more riſques, till I could ſee my way better, therefore I came to an anchor, ordering our trumpets to ſound, and drum to beat, to give notice to any ſhips that might be coming into the *Downs*, leſt they ſhould run on board us in the fog unawares, we lying in the fair trade way; our anchor was ſcarcely down ere we heard a gun fired, which was ſoon follow'd by four more at a ſmall intermiſſion of time; whereupon reading our ſailing orders, I found it to be the ſignal appointed to be given, in caſe any of us ſhould run aſhore; but whoſe misfortune it was at this time I could not determine, till about an hour after, the fog diſpelling, I perceiv'd it to be the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, Capt. *Shurley*, who had run a-ground two miles to the S. E. of the *South Foreland*, and was a ſpectacle I was not a little grieved to ſee, my beſt friend Sir *Jeffrey Jeffries*, Knt. and ſome others of my worthy owners, as well as the royal *African* company, being deeply concern'd in her; therefore I thought it no ſeaſonable time only to look on and bemoan his ill luck, but forthwith, with all the application I could, to ſend him ſome timely aſſiſtance; in order to this, our long boat being hal'd up, I ſent my three mates, boatſwain, gunner, and carpenter, with twenty of the beſt men I had, to carry out an anchor for him to heave off by upon the flood, for he happen'd to run aſhore almoſt at low water, ſo as he had the whole tide of flood to friend. I was extremely pleas'd that I came to an anchor ſo fortunately as I did, and did not ſtand into the *Downs*; for had not my boat come to his relief, I queſtion if he had ever floated again, for Capt. *Shurley* himſelf was like a diſtracted man, and his ſeamen were grown wilful, and would not obey his officers, each taking care of his own little concern only, and neglecting their common intereſt in ſaving the ſhip. Whether he had given his men occaſion for this untimely frowardneſs, I will not pretend to determine, but cannot forbear here to give my own opinion freely, that it is the greateſt prudence, as well as intereſt of a commander, of a merchant ſhip eſpecially, to gain his mens good-will and affections, by being humane to them, and giving them their due and full allowance, according to the uſance of the ſea, of good and wholſome proviſions, for nothing grates upon ſeamen more than pinching their bellies, or treating them with cruelty or reproachful words, ſuch as lubber, *&c.* whereas they are ſuch a ſort of people, that if they have juſtice done them, a good word now and then, and be permitted their little forecaſtle jeſts and ſongs with freedom, they will run thro' fire and water for their commander, and do their work with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and alacrity;

crity; but on the other ſide, as they ſhould not want their juſt dues in any kind, ſo they ſhould not want work, as long as there were any to be done for the ſhip's ſervice and benefit; tho' at the ſame time I am far from approving the moroſe and cynick temper of ſome commanders, who hate to ſee a poor ſailor have a minute's time of quiet, to enjoy himſelf, and indulge his humour with a ſong or an old tale, but will keep them doing out of perfect ill nature, and rather than let them be the leaſt at eaſe, will put them at work to the ſhip and owners prejudice. I remember a couple of maſters that I knew in the *Streights*, trading before the war, whom I ſhall forbear to name, the one of them would often make his men coil one of his cables upon deck, then paſs the end without board into the gun-room port, and rouſe it in again, and coil it where it was before, and this he ſaid was to plague the dogs, tho' to the great damage of his cable, by rubbing and galling it, and no doubt but it plagu'd them ſufficiently, making them curſe and damn him all the time, and wiſh for an occaſion to be among rocks, ſands, or a lee-ſhore, where there was but any poſſibility of ſaving their lives, that they might return his favours, and ſhew him how ready they would be to obey his command and ſave his ſhip; then I fear they would ſerve him as the ſeamen ſerv'd the collier maſter coming from *Newcaſtle*, who having lock'd up the firkin of butter from them, contrary to cuſtom, and plying to windward with the tide among the ſands, ſtanding on one tack as near a ſand as he thought proper, order'd the helm a-lee, to go about; when the ſhip was well ſtay'd, he call'd to hale the main-ſail, but his men anſwer'd unanimouſly, *that not one of them would touch a rope till the firkin of butter was brought to the maſt*. He began to expoſtulate with them, but to no purpoſe, and ſeeing the ſhip drive near the ſand with all ſails aback, he promis'd them they ſhould have it as ſoon as the ſails were trimm'd, and the ſhip had gather'd way; the men reply'd, *that ſeeing was believing*; whereupon, finding there was no other remedy, he run down to his cabin to fetch the butter, and laid it at the maſt; then the men went to work, but too late, for e'er the ſails could be hal'd about and fill'd, the ſhip ſtruck upon the ſand, and never came off again; ſo that as the ſea proverb is, *he loſt a Hog for a halfpenny-worth of Tar*.

The other maſter I knew in the *Streights*, would in a fit of the ſpleen fling a chip, or any other inſignificant trifle, over-board, and make his men hoiſt out the boat and row half a mile after it; in the mean time he would make what ſail he could, and keep a-head of them, making them row five or ſix hours after him, and a little before night lie by and take them up. Such perverſe uſage as this is a ſure ſign of an ill temper in the commanders, and nothing can alienate the eſteem and affections of their men more from them. After this long digreſſion 'tis time to return to the *Eaſt-India merchant*, who about four in the evening floated and ſwung to her anchor, having lain three hours aground without any damage; about five we weigh'd, and ſtood into the *Downs*, and anchor'd in ſix fathom, the *South Foreland* bearing S. S. W. and *Deal-Caſtle* W. S. W. This untoward beginning of our voyage gave me ſome troubleſome reflections, but was too far engag'd to reſolve upon any thing but to proceed, and endeavour to go thorough it as well as I could. PHILLIPS. October, 1693.

We were detain'd in the *Downs* with very bluſtering weather and contrary winds until the twenty-fifth of *October*; the wind veering about to the north, we got up our anchors, and about ſeven in the evening were under ſail, and about eight were off the *South Foreland*, where we lay by about an hour, to give time for the reſt of our fleet to join us, which when they had done, we fill'd and ſteer'd away S. W. for the *Neſs*.

Thurſday the 26th. Laſt night at eleven a-clock we were a-breaſt the *Neſs*-light: then hal'd up W. S. W. and W. by S. for *Beachy*, had a brave ſtiff gale all night at north, going away with courſes and topſails till ſeven this morning: I ſet all ſails, and ſhot a-head the reſt of the fleet, in order to get in my boats, which having done, about ten join'd the fleet again, of which we found none miſſing but Capt. *Hereford* in the *Fortune*, whom we could not deſcry. At noon this day we ſaw the iſle of *Wight*, bearing north-weſt; diſtance by eſtimation ſeven leagues: we ſteer'd for moſt part weſt, with cloudy dark weather, and ſome ſmall driſling rain; we got our anchors up, and our ſhip clear for the ſea, and removed two of our guns that were open in the waiſt into the after ports in the great cabin.

Friday the 27th. From yeſterday noon till twelve this day we have had a brave topſail gale from north to north-eaſt, ſteering away weſt. At four in the evening yeſterday the weſt end of the *Wight* bore N. by W. diſtance ſeven leagues, from whence I take my departure, we not coming in ſight of any other land in *England*; at which time Capt. *Somes* in the *Jeffrey* was far a-ſtern, not being able to bear his topſails for the extremity of the gale; but Capt. *Shurley* not eaſing ſail, we were forc'd to croud with him all night, *Leaves ſight of Land.*

ſo

PHILLIPS. October, 1693.

ſo that we loſt poor *Somes*. We run from four in the evening yeſterday 112′ weſt, by the beſt computation I could make, for our log-line breaking in the night, we loſt our log, and were forc'd to make gueſs-work. We ſaw many ſhips of all ſides, but ſpoke with none, except one *Portugueze* of two-hundred tons, bound from *Oporto* to *London*, laden with wine, for ſome quantities of which commodity we had a great deſire to traffick with him; but it blowing ſo hard, and night being come on, hinder'd our deſign, ſo that we bid him farewel, and left him to proceed on his voyage, as we did on ours, unbent our cables, and clapt on hauſe-boards, clear'd our ſhip, and appointed my men their quarters in caſe of engaging an enemy, having ſeventy men belonging to the ſhip, and thirty-three of the *African* company's paſſengers, for their caſtles in *Guiney*, ſo that we made in all, men and boys, a hundred and three. At four in the evening yeſterday the eaſt end of the iſle of *Wight*, being in latitude 50° 24′ N. bore N. by W. diſtance ſeven leagues, from which take my departure. We had a great north ſea, for which I allow one point lee-way, ſo that ſince four in the evening yeſterday have run 112 W. by S. and at noon this day have made from the eaſt end of the iſle of *Wight* 8° 42′, and weſting 108 (lat. 49° 42′.)

Saturday the 28th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had a cloſe ſky, with ſome ſmall ſhowers of rain, and a brave gale of wind at N. N. E. and N. E. running from ſix to eight miles an hour. This morning at nine we ſaw a ſhip to the ſouthward ſtanding with us; about ten ſhe ſhew'd a blue *Engliſh* enſign, by which we gueſs'd it to be Capt. *Hereford* in the *Fortune*, as he prov'd; about twelve he join'd us: the true courſe ſteer'd, allowing all impediments, is S. 75° 56′ W. or W. S. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. diſtance run 178; the latitude by reckoning 49° and weſting in all made 280 miles, being S. 42, and W. 172 miles.

Sunday the 29th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had a brave ſtiff gale from N. E. to E. N. E. ſteering away W. by S. and W. S. W. diſtance run *per* log is 167 miles; decreas'd our latitude forty-ſeven miles, made weſt departure 160′. At noon this day we had indifferent good obſervation of the latitude in 47° 58′ N. total weſting 440 miles.

Monday the 30th. From noon yeſterday we had a fine topſail gale at N. N. E. keeping our courſe W. S. W. till eight laſt night, at which time it veer'd to the N. by W. and at twelve to the N. W. and at noon this day to W. dark cloudy weather, with ſome rain, but ſmooth water. This day we ſold at the maſt our boatſwain *Robert Fabin*'s and *John Harding*'s cloaths, being two of our men that run away from the ſhip while we lay in the *Downs*, the firſt having embezzled and convey'd away a great deal of our cargo, as well as the ſhip's ſtores, while we lay fitting out in the river, as we found when we came to examine them. Diſtance run *per* log is 116′, difference of latitude made is 67′, W. Departure made is 88′; the preſent latitude by reckoning is 46° 51′, and total departure W. 528 miles.

Tueſday 31ſt. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had a brisk gale of wind, veering from W. N. W. to W. by S. with frequent hard ſqualls and guſts. Laſt night at four moſt of our fleet being to leeward far, we bore down to them, and it looking like dirty weather we took up both reefs in our topſails, and jogg'd under them and our two courſes cloſe hal'd all night. This morning, our foretopſail being in ſome places ſeam-rent, we unbent it, and brought to another, and furl'd it, by reaſon we fore-reach'd and weather'd much upon all the reſt of the fleet. Diſtance run ſince yeſterday noon is 112′, courſe various, from S. W. to S. by W: but the direct courſe made (allowing one point and half lee-way, by reaſon of the ſmall ſail we made, and the great weſtern ſea) is S. 11° 15′ W. or S. by W: difference of latitude made is 108′ S. departure 20′ W. the preſent latitude 45° 3′, by reckoning; and total departure W. 548 miles.

Wedneſday the 1ſt. From noon yeſterday we had the wind at W. by S. until four in the evening, when it veering to the S. W. by W. we tack'd, lying up with larboard tacks aboard N. W. by W. and N. W. until three this morning; the mate that had the watch came to acquaint me that they diſcover'd four ſtrange ſhips with lights to windward of us; when I came upon deck I perceiv'd one with a light ſtanding as we did, upon which we got our half ports off, cheſts and hammocks up, and order'd every man to their ſeveral quarters, to get them clear for an engagement. About ſeven, being clear day, we had all things in order, and ready for a fight, at which time I plainly ſaw four tall ſhips with all ſails ſet ſtanding directly with us. I am ſure they were men of war of ſixty and ſeventy guns each, as near as I could diſcover thro' my glaſs, but of what nation I could not tell, tho' we had great reaſon to believe them *French*, our frigots ſeldom or never cruiſing ſo far to the S. and W. They ſtood towards us with all ſail ſet in a line, upon which I made a ſignal, by hoiſting and lowering my enſign four times, to give notice to Capt.

November.

Capt. *Shurley* of our new companions, and crouded with all ſails to ſpeak with him, he being about a mile diſtant upon my lee bow, and the only one of our fleet then in company, we having loſt the reſt laſt night and the night before: when I came up with him it blew ſo hard that we could not hear each other, tho' we had good ſpeaking-trumpets, therefore we were forced to endeavour to underſtand one another by ſigns, by which I perceiv'd that he was of my opinion, that ſince they were ſo many, not to ſtand the brunt with them, two to one being odds at foot-ball, we being deep loaden merchants ſhips, and they frigots, built and fitted only for fight, but rather to go away large, and endeavour, by often varying our courſe, to loſe them, it blowing very hard at S. and being thick dirty weather, which was likely to continue and increaſe, which I was not ſorry for, ſince I do verily believe it ſav'd us a *French* voyage; therefore we hal'd up our mainſails, clapt the helm a-weather, and bore away under foreſail and maintopſail, with two reefs in, upon the cap, ſteering W. N. W. and N. W. till nine, handed maintopſail, and went away N. W. till ten, having loſt ſight of the ſhips that purſu'd us e'er ſince we went large. At eleven it blowing a hard ſtorm, having very thick weather and grown ſea, leſt we ſhould loſe each other, capt. *Shurley* brought to under a mizzen; my foreſail being, up I went to do the like, but in haling out our mizzen the ſtrap of the ſheet-block broke, ſo that eer we could brail him up he was by the violence of the gale ſplit to pieces, which occaſion'd us to lower the yard down and unbend him, upon which the ſhip labouring much for want of ſail, found it convenient to ſet the mainſail, and having got the tack aboard, eer we could gather the ſheet aft we ſplit the mainſail, and were forc'd to hale down the yard and furl him, and bear away before the wind N. and N. by W. with only the bunt of our foreſail looſe. In furling our mainſail one of our ſeamen, *John Southern*, being careleſs of himſelf, fell off the yard-arm and was drown'd, which I was extreamly ſorry for, but it was beyond human power to ſave him, it blowing a mere fret of wind, and a very great ſea, and having no ſails to command the ſhip. The difference of latitude and departure theſe twenty-four hours, by the beſt computation I can make, is, N. 21′, W. 40′; ſo that our preſent latitude is 45° 24′ N. and total weſting 588 miles.

Tueſday the 2d. From twelve yeſterday until two in the evening, we went away N. with our bare poles, running four miles an hour; at which time, having brought to a new mizen and reef'd him, we hoiſted the yard and ſet him, and brought her to under a mizen, then unbent our main-ſail that was ſplit, and with much pains and trouble we bent another; and having reef'd him we furl'd him: About four we furl'd our fore-ſail ſnug, and hoiſted the mizen ſtay-ſail, to keep the ſhip to, and her head upon the ſea, ſhe labouring moſt dreadfully. At twelve laſt night the violence of the ſtorm being abated, we ſet the main-ſail, and lay under it and mizen till day-light; when, having righted up the ſhip a little, to my great trouble and ſurprize, we found that our foremaſt was ſprung about three foot above the partners in the forecaſtle; the crack being very large, and opening above an inch upon every rent of the ſhip, which, to ſee, made my heart ake; we found it likewiſe upon ſearching, to be almoſt rotten to the heart in that place, whereupon I ſent for my officers, to conſult what was moſt proper to be done upon this unexpected accident, and how beſt to ſecure him, but finding ſome of them begin to urge that there was no proceeding on ſo long a voyage with ſuch a maſt, and that it was convenient to bear up for *Plymouth*, while we were ſo near it, to furniſh ourſelves with another. I thought it convenient to quaſh this motion in the bud, and declar'd I was reſolv'd to proceed on my voyage, tho' I ſhould be forc'd to go with a jury-maſt, rather than return again to *England*; and forthwith order'd my carpenters to go to work to ſecure him, by paying four new capſton bars of good oak, and nine foot long each, round him, where he was ſprung, and ſpike them very well, and afterwards clapt four good wooldings upon him, which I was in hopes would ſufficiently ſecure him, we every day approaching nearer a fair weather country; and when our carpenters had done what I had order'd them, it ſeem'd very firm, and did not complain all the voyage after. In crowding yeſterday morning with maintop-ſail to ſpeak with Capt. *Shurley*, upon ſight of the four ſtrange ſhips, we wrench'd the head of our main-maſt; and this morning ſet ſome men to woold the heel of the maintop-maſt, to the head of the main-maſt, to keep him faſt, elſe the cap would ſlue much where the head of the maſt was wrung. We had the wind theſe twenty-four hours at S. and S. S. E. blowing a very ſevere ſtorm, we caping all night W. and W. N. W. drove N. two mile an hour. At noon this day the wind came about to W. N. W. but being buſy about our maſt could make no ſail; the direct courſe made is N. forty-ſix miles, latitude, by reckon-

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ing, 46° 10′ N. and weſting 588 miles. In this ſtorm I loſt my conſort, Capt. *Shurley*.

Friday the 3d. About two in the evening yeſterday, our carpenters having compleated what they could do to the foremaſt, we ſet the foreſail and wear'd the ſhip, and laid her head to the S. lying up S. by W. and S. S. W. wind at W. and W. by S. ſtiff gale. At nine o'clock we handed our maintop-ſail, and went under courſes all night, until noon this day, having the weather very cloudy and ſqually for moſt part; I allow three points lee-way, ſo that judge we made our way good, but S. E. by S. Diſt. *per* log fifty-ſeven miles: At twelve we had good obſervation of the latitude, and found it to be 45° 5′ N. Departure made is thirty-one miles eaſterly. Total weſting is 557 miles.

Saturday the 4th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had dull ſqually weather, and ſome heavy ſhowers of rain; wind from S. W. by W. to W. by N. lying up from S. by E. to S. W. by S. until ſix this morning, when the wind came about to the N. W. by W. and ſo to N. we ſteering away S. W. with a freſh gale till noon this day, when it cleared up, ſo that we had a good obſervation of the latitude, and found it to be 43° 50′ N. Departure made is 20′ W. Total weſting 577′.

Sunday the 5th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had cloſe cloudy weather, wind between the N. N. W. and N. N. E. a fine top-ſail gale, ſteering till ſix in the evening yeſterday, S. W. 41 miles, then S. S. W. 100 miles till noon this day. Difference of latitude made is S. 121 miles. Departure W. 67 miles, the preſent latitude reckon'd 41° 49′ N. Total weſting 644 miles.

Monday the 6th. From noon yeſterday until twelve this day, we have had but a ſmall gale of wind, ſhuffling from N. N. E. to E. S. E. our courſe ſteer'd being S. S. W. Diſtance *per* log is 54′, the weather cloſe and cloudy, ſo that we could have no obſervation: This morning beginnning to draw near a fair weather-country, we got up our top-gallant-maſt and yards, and dry'd our ſails, which were ſplit in the late ſtorm. Difference of latitude made, is 49′ S. Departure 21 W. Latitude, by reckoning, 41° N. and total weſting 665 miles.

Tueſday the 7th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had cloſe sky and dark weather, wind from S. S. E. to S. S. W. At twelve laſt night we tack'd to eaſtward, lying up S. E. and S. E. by E. Diſtance run *per* log 74′. Difference of latitude made is 25′ S. Departure 22′ E. Latitude, by reckoning, 40° 35′ N. and total weſting 643 miles. This day our old mizen being mended, we unbent the new one and brought it to the yard.

Wedneſday the 8th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had very hard ſhowers of rain, and a freſh gale of wind at S. and S. S. W. At ſix in the evening yeſterday we tack'd to theweſtward, lying up W.; at eight handed our top-ſail; and at four this morning our maintop-ſail, lying W. S. W. and W. by S. under our three courſes, we having a great S. ſea and hard gale of wind. This morning the clue of our fore ſail gave way, ſo unbent and brought to another. Diſtance run *per* log, is 74 miles. Difference of latitude and departure made, allowing for lee-way, and all other impediments, is S. 8′, W. 22′. Latitude, by reckoning, 40° 27 N. and total weſting 665 miles.

Thurſday the 9th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had ſeveral ſhowers of ſmall driſling rain, wind from S. E. by S. to S. W. by S. dark cloudy weather. Diſtance run *per* log 57′. Difference of latitude is 3′ S. Departure 53° W. Latitude, by reckoning, 40° 24 N. Total weſting 718 miles. From ten to twelve this day we lay becalm'd.

Friday the 10th. From noon yeſterday we lay becalm'd, with courſes up, and top-ſails lower'd, until four this morning, when ſprung up a ſmall breeze at W. by S. which continu'd freſhning until ten, then veer'd to S. W. blowing a fine top-ſail gale; and the ſea very much laid. We had ſome ſmall ſhowers of rain laſt night, but this day fine hard sky and clear weather, and had very good obſervations of the latitude. Departure made, is E. 9′. Latitude 39° 33′ N. and total weſting 709 miles. This day we mended all our ſplit ſails.

Saturday the 11th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had ſmooth water, and a freſh gale of wind at S. W. by S. and S. W. lying S. S. E. and S. E. by S. weather indifferent clear. Diſtance run *per* log is 118 miles. Departure made is 75′ eaſterly. At noon this day we had indifferent good obſervation. Lat. 38° 10′ N. Weſting 634 miles.

Sunday the 12th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had various weather, wind S. W and W. S. W. until ten laſt night, with ſome ſhowers of rain; it came about to N. W. fine top-gallant gale: we ſteering away S. by W. at noon had the wind at N. by W. at which time we had good obſervation of the latitude. Departure made is E. 5 miles. Latitude 36° 27′ N. Total weſting 629 miles.

Monday the 13th. From noon yeſterday we have had a fine ſmall gale from N. by W. to N. E. until two this morning, it fell ſtark calm, and continu'd ſo (with a few intervening breezes) till noon this day.

Diſtance

Diſtance *per* log is ſixty-eight miles. Courſe ſteer'd is S. by W. Departure made is W. 8′. Latitude, by reckoning, 35° 20 N. and total weſting 637 miles. Had great N. W. ſwell theſe twenty-four hours, for which I make ſome allowances.

Tueſday the 14th. From noon yeſterday we have had but little wind till ſix this morning, at which time ſprung up a fine gale at N. W. we ſteering S. by W. At noon we had good obſervation of the latitude, 34° 6′ N. Total weſting 637 miles, had great N. W. ſea.

Wedneſday the 15th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had a ſmall gale of wind, various, from W. to S. W. Latitude, by reckoning, 33° 11′ N. Total weſting 646 miles.

Thurſday 16. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had good weather, wind at S. and S. S. E. ſmall gale. At noon this day, we were, by obſervation, in latitude 32° 44′ N. Weſting 680 miles.

Friday the 17th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had the wind various, at S. and S. by W. Yeſterday we tack'd to the W. lying W. by S. and at two this morning it blowing a hard gale, we handed both our top ſails. Latitude, by reckoning, 32° 47′ N. Total weſting 698′.

Saturday the 18th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had very ſqually weather, and many heavy ſhowers of rain, wind ſhuffling between the W. S. W. and S. S. W. hard gale, and great ſea, courſe various, made difference of latitude ſeventy-three miles S. Departure 15′ E. Latitude, by reckoning, 31° 34′ N. Total weſting 683 miles. This morning we found out that one of the *Royal African* company's ſoldiers, for their caſtles in *Guiney*, was a woman, who had enter'd herſelf into their ſervice under the name of *John Brown*, without the leaſt ſuſpicion, and had been three months on board without any miſtruſt, lying always among the other paſſengers, and being as handy and ready to do any work as any of them; and I believe ſhe had continu'd undiſcover'd till our arrival in *Africa*, had not ſhe fallen very ſick, which occaſion'd our Surgeon to viſit her, and order'd her a gliſter; which when his mate went to adminiſter, he was ſurpriz'd to find more ſally-ports than he expected, which occaſion'd him to make a farther enquiry; which, as well as her confeſſion, manifeſting the truth of her ſex, he came to acquaint me of it, whereupon, in charity, as well as in reſpect to her ſex, I order'd her a private lodging apart from the men, and gave the taylor ſome ordinary ſtuffs to make her woman's cloaths; in recompence for which ſhe prov'd very uſeful in waſhing my linnen, and doing what elſe ſhe could, till we deliver'd her with the reſt at *Cape Coaſt* caſtle. She was about twenty years old, and a likely black girl.

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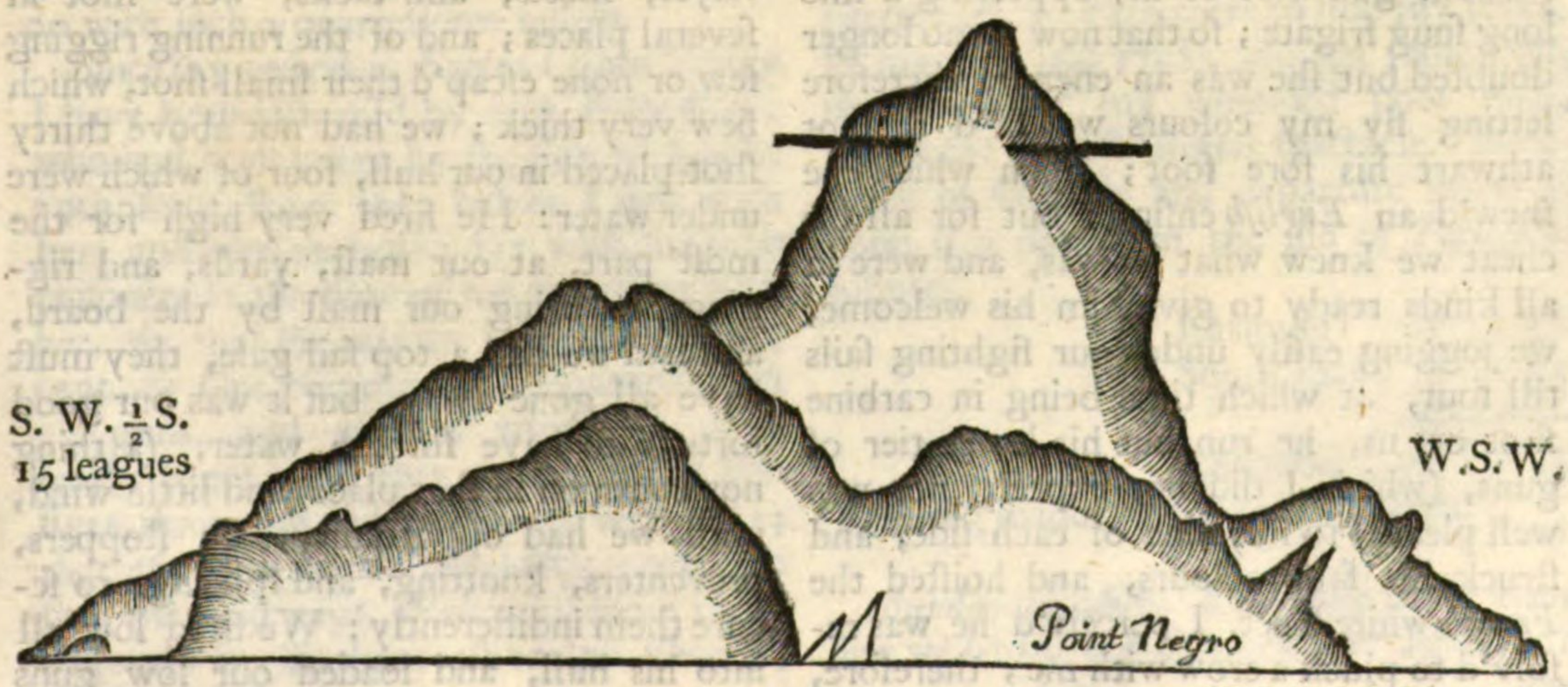
A woman ſoldier.

Sunday the 19th. From noon yeſterday we have had the wind from S. W. to W. by S. lying up for the moſt part S. by W. fine top-ſail gale, and ſmooth water. Diſtance run *per* log is 132′. Had good obſervation of the latitude, which was 29° 58′; total weſting 669 miles.

Monday the 20th. We have had the wind at W. and W. by S. until four this morning; at which time it fell ſtark calm, and continu'd ſo till noon, when we had good obſervation; latitude 29° 30′; total weſting 706 miles.

Tueſday the 21ſt. From twelve yeſterday, until four in the evening, we lay becalm'd; at which time ſprung up a ſmall gale at S. E. At ſix we diſcern'd the peek of *Tenerif*, which had the appearance as by the black line underneath, bearing S. W. by W. diſtance by eſtimation, twenty-five leagues; whereupon we ſteer'd away with it, with a fine gale at night at S. S. E. At noon this

Tenerif.



When the eaſt point of *Tenerif* ſhuts in the weſt point of the *Grand Canary*, it bears exactly S. by E. half E.

day

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day we had very good obſervation of the latitude, being in 28° 48′ N. *Point Negro* then bearing W. S. W. ½ S. diſtance about eight leagues. The S. E. point of *Tenerif* S. W. ½ S. diſtance fifteen leagues; the weſt point of the *Grand Canary*, S. fourteen leagues, 28° 48′ N. and total weſting, allowing for all impediments 720 miles. Note, in this run, or for the ſtreights, I always allow twelve leagues eaſting more then my courſe gives, for the great weſtern ſea that inſenſibly puts us to the eaſt beyond our expectation, as I found by experience of many voyages.

Wedneſday the 22d. From yeſterday noon we ſteer'd away W. by S. with a fine gale at S. S. E. until five in the evening it veer'd to S. S. W. faltring and dying away, ſo that we had but faint breezes of wind all night; about four o'clock in the morning, it being day-light, *Pico Tenerif* bore due eaſt of us, at which time being near *Oratava* road, we diſcerned two ſail between us and the ſhore, one of which we perceiv'd to be a ſhip, and the other ſeem'd a barca longa; in a ſhort time we ſaw the ſhip ſtanding off to us, with all ſails ſet, whereupon we tack'd off to the N. to have time to put our ſhip in a poſture of defence, in caſe ſhe prov'd an enemy, and with all expedition got our hatch ports off, our cheſts and hamocks up, our cloſe quarters up, guns and ſmall arms all ready, and about twelve we were every way clear and ready for an engagement, at which time we furl'd our main ſail, and handed all our ſmall ſails, ſlung our yards, clap'd on our ſtoppers, our puddings, and plattings under our parrels, and being but little wind hal'd up our fore ſail, and lay by for the ſhip that was ſo earneſt to ſpeak with us.

Thurſday the 23d. From noon yeſterday we had but faint ſmall breezes of wind until three in the evening, at which time the ſhip that ſtood after us was got within random gun-ſhot of us, appearing a fine long ſnug frigate; ſo that now we no longer doubted but ſhe was an enemy, therefore letting fly my colours we fir'd a ſhot athwart his fore foot; upon which he ſhew'd an *Engliſh* enſign: but for all his cheat we knew what he was, and were in all kinds ready to give him his welcome, we jogging eaſily under our fighting ſails till four, at which time being in carbine ſhot of us, he run out his lower tier of guns, (which I did not expect, nor was well pleaſed to ſee) nine of each ſide, and ſtruck his falſe colours, and hoiſted the *French* white ſheet. I perceiv'd he was reſolv'd to pluck a crow with me; therefore, after drinking a dram, and encouraging all, order'd all my men to their guns, to behave themſelves courageouſly, and expected his broad-ſide, which when within piſtol-ſhot he gave us, and his volley of ſmall ſhot. We return'd his civility very heartily with ours; after which he ſhot a head of us, and brought to, and fell along our larboard ſide, and gave us his other broad-ſide, as we did him; then each of us loaded and fired as faſt as we could until ten o'clock at night, when his fore top maſt came by the board; then he fell a ſtern of us, and made the beſt of his way to leeward, with his boat towing a head, and took his leave of us. We gave him a levet with our trumpets, and what guns, we had loaded, to bid him farewell, being heartily glad to be rid of ſuch a troubleſome gueſt, and ſtood to our former courſe W. by S. I was extreamly glad that, by God's aſſiſtance, we defended the ſhip, tho' ſhe was moſt miſerably ſhatter'd and torn in her maſt and rigging, having had eleven ſhot in our main maſt, three quite thro' him, and ſeveral lodg'd in him and gaul'd him ſlanting three or four inches deep, eight ſhot in our fore maſt, two quite thro'; our main top ſhot to pieces; our main top maſt ſplinter'd half a way; our mizen yard ſhot in two pieces; our ſprit ſail top maſt jack and jack ſtaff ſhot away; our antient ſtaff ſhot by the board, ſo that had no colours flying moſt part of the engagement, but the king's pendant, which by authority of my letter of mart, I fought under; we had ſeveral ſhot thro' our yards, with much more too long to inſert. As to the rigging, I know not how to begin or end with it, 'twas ſo tore by long bars of iron they fired; our main ſhrouds we were forc'd to knot in fourteen places, and had but one ſhroud ſtanding of the larboard ſide, when *Monſieur* towed off. We knotted our fore ſhrouds in nine places; our main top chain and main tie were ſhot to pieces, ſo that the yard hung wholly by the parrel and pudding: our ſtayes, ſheets, and tacks, were ſhot in ſeveral places; and of the running rigging few or none eſcap'd their ſmall ſhot, which flew very thick; we had not above thirty ſhot placed in our hull, four of which were under water: He fired very high for the moſt part, at our maſt, yards, and rigging, to bring our maſt by the board, and had we had a top ſail gale, they muſt have all gone away, but it was our good fortune to have ſmooth water, (a thing not common in that place) and little wind, until we had opportunity, by ſtoppers, preventers, knotting, and ſplicing, to ſecure them indifferently: We fired low all into his hull, and loaded our low guns (which were all demiculverin) conſtantly with both double and round ſhot, and our

Engagement with a French *frigate.*

quarter

quarter deck guns with round ſhot, and tin caſes full of musket bullets, ſo that we muſt certainly have kill'd him a great many men; our three boats and booms were ſhot thro' in many places; and we had a ſuit of ſails quite ſpoil'd, ſome being ſhot thro' like ſtrainers. We had five men kill'd out-right, and about thirty-two wounded; among the laſt was my brother, my gunner, carpenter, and boatſwain; the carpenter had his arm ſhot off, and three others their legs; five or ſix of my beſt men were dreadfully blown up by their careleſsneſs, in laying the lighted matches among ſome cartridges of powder; our harper had his ſcull fractur'd by a ſmall ſhot; the reſt are but ſlight ſmall ſhot, and ſplinter wounds, and bruiſes, and hope will do all well; our ſurgeon, Mr. *William Gordon*, being a diligent man, and an excellent artiſt in his profeſſion. The fight laſted ſix hours, from four till ten o'clock, being all that while within piſtol-ſhot, little wind, and ſmall water, and firing as faſt as both ſides could load our guns. We often gave them huzza's during the engagement, and they would anſwer with *Vive le roys*; but when he towed away under our ſtern his note was chang'd, for I never heard ſuch dreadful ſcreeching and howling as was on board of him, ſo that he muſt needs have a great many men wounded. I judg'd him to be about 48 guns, and a man of war. After he left us we ſteer'd W. by S. with a ſmall gale at N. E. and ſpent all the night in fixing our rigging as well as we could, to be in ſome poſture to receive him, if he ſhould incline to have another bout with us in the morning; but our men being tired all day, and the beſt of them kill'd or wounded, we could do but little, tho' they had all the encouragement that I could give them, and as much punch as they would drink: This morning, when it was light, we ſaw the enemy about three leagues diſtance, ſtanding to the northward from us, having, I preſume, had his belly-full the night before, and which, without fallacy, I was very glad of, not deſiring to have any more to do with ſuch a quarrelſome fellow.

Since my arrival in *England* from *Guiney* I have been inform'd by capt. *Peter Wall*, who had been taken by the ſhip we fought with ſome ſhort time before I met with her, and was on board her with his men priſoners at the time of my engaging with her, *viz.* that ſhe was the *Louis* of St. *Malo*, capt. *de Gra* commander, mounted with 52 guns, and mann'd with 280 men, newly come out; that we had kill'd him ſixty-three men and wounded ſeventy odd; that after our battle the next morning he ſent the ſaid capt. *Wall* and ſome other priſoners in his boat aſhore on *Teneriff*, and made the beſt of his way for *Lixa*, to put aſhore his wounded men, and refit his ſhip, which was very much ſhatter'd and damag'd; that the *Canary* merchants ſaw the engagement while light, and heard the guns when dark; that they intended to make me a preſent had I put into *Oratava* road; but I knowing nothing of their deſign, thought myſelf very happy in having ſav'd my ſhip, and ſo proceeded on my voyage for the coaſt of *Guiney*.

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Friday the 24th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have ſpent in knotting our ſhrouds, and fixing our other rigging as well as we could; knotted our main ſhrouds in fourteen places, and the fore-ſhrouds in nine, and after ſet them up very tort, to ſecure our poor ſhatter'd maſt; we were forc'd to keep our chain-pump and both hand-pumps conſtantly going, to keep the ſhip free, ſhe making a great deal of water, through the four ſhot-holes receiv'd under water, which we could not come at to ſtop effectually by reaſon of the ſea. This day we liv'd on bread and cheeſe and punch, not being able to dreſs any meat, by reaſon our hearth and furnaces were ſhot thro', which our armourer was about mending. We had a hogſhead of brandy ſhot in our lazaretta, whoſe loſs we much regretted. We had a fine gale of wind at N. E. by E. with which ſteer'd away W. S. W. the poor ſhip looking miſerably with her ſhot rigging dangling about, and as full of ſplinters as a carpenters yard of chips.

Saturday the 25th. From noon yeſterday we have had a fine gale of wind at N. E. and E. N. E. ſteering S. W. with our topſails low ſet, for fear of ſtraining our ſhatter'd maſt. At ſix in the evening yeſterday the iſland of *Fero* (in the latitude 27° 30′ N.) bore S. S. E. diſtance ſeven leagues. At nine this morning bracing our main-yard, about ten foot of the ſtarboard yard-arm broke, being ſhot above half thro' in that place. At ten this morning the iſland of *Fero* being juſt diſcernible, bore of us N. E. diſtance by eſtimation twelve leagues, from which I take my departure for St. *Jago*, there to ſtop my leaks, fit my maſt and yards, and get ſome freſh proviſions for my wounded poor men, which are a moſt diſmal ſpectacle. Difference of latitude and departure made at noon this day from the iſle of *Fero* is as follows,

Iſle of Fero.

Latitude	27°	30′
South made		35′
Latitude	26°	55′

Weſting made from *Fero* is 29 miles.

Sunday the 26th. Yeſterday in the evening we ſet up our ſhrouds tort again, the heat

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heat of the weather and the drawing of the knots having much ſlacken'd them; our ſhot mizzen-yard being ſplic'd and fiſh'd, we bent a new mizzen to him, and got him up and ſet him; we unbent our foreſail, (which had thirty large ſhot-holes thro' him, ſome half-yard wide, done with the long bars of iron they fired, and innumerable musket-ſhot holes) and brought to another; we woolded three large crows to the foremaſt, to ſuccour a great gaul about eight inches deep which he had receiv'd in the engagement, about ten foot above the forecaſtle; ſet our carpenters to work about mending the ſhot-holes in our bolts. Laſt night took up both reefs in each of our topſails, and were forc'd to go with them about two foot above the caps, for fear of carrying our maſt away. Now having begun to come into the trade-winds way, had fine ſteady gales at E. S. E. ſteering away S. S. W. At noon this day we had good obſervation. Diſtance run *per* log 146′; weſting before 29; now 57; total weſting from *Fero*, 86 miles.

Monday the 27th. Yeſterday's evening our carpenters ſpent in mending the bottom of our yaul, ſo that now we have one boat that will ſwim, ready to be hoiſted out upon any ſudden accident, of a man falling over-board, or the like. We kept our pumps conſtantly plying, to free the ſhip, in which the royal *African* company's ſoldiers did us good ſervice in the day-time. We had a fine curious gale, veering from E. N. E. to E. by S. ſteering all night S. S. W. for St. *Jago*, one of the cape *de Verd* iſlands. This morning as ſoon as it was clear light we ſaw a ſhip upon our weather-bow, bearing of us S. by W. diſtance about a league, ſtanding as we did; immediately we call'd up all hands to put the ſhip in a fighting poſture, and in truth our men were very dextrous at it, ſo that we were clear for a fight in leſs than an hour's time (being improv'd by the laſt engagement;) in about half an hour after we were every way ready, we perceiv'd her to hale cloſe upon a wind, crouding with all the ſail ſhe could towards the *Barbary* coaſt; ſhe ſeem'd to us a good ſhip, and I do believe it might be capt. *Daniell* in the *Mediterranean*, bound to *Angola*; when we ſaw him ſhun us we kept on our own courſe S. S. W. being not very deſirous to force a quarrel, having ſo lately been well bang'd, tho' all our men that were unwounded were very reſolute to give him a rough ſalute, had he had any thing to ſay to us; he keeping ſtill cloſe hal'd, about twelve a-clock was out of ſight. We then put our half ports on again, unſlung our yards, and got off our cloſe quarters, and ſet our carpenters about mending the reſt of our boats. This falſe alarm hinder'd the paying of our tropick bottles. At noon this day we had good obſervation, diſtance run *per* log 160; courſe S. S. W. latitude 22° 31′; weſting before 86; now 61; total 147. This day our bag-piper's leg was cut off a little below the knee.

Tueſday the 28th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind at E. S. E. ſteering away S. S. W. diſtance run *per* log 186′; employ'd our carpenters about mending our long-boat, and our men that were clear of the pumps in picking of oacum. This morning our ſurgeon cut off *Thomas Cronow*'s leg; at noon had good obſervation; latitude 20° 12′; weſting 63: total weſting from *Fero* 210 miles.

Wedneſday the 29th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had good weather, and a fine ſteddy gale of wind at E. N. E. ſteering away S. S. W. diſtance run *per* log 155 miles. At noon this day had good obſervation; latitude 18° 20′; weſting before 210, now 59; total weſting 269. This morning we made an end of mending and calking our long-boat.

Thurſday the 30th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind at E. and E. N. E. ſteering S. S. W. till 8 this morning, we ſaw *Iſla de Sal* bearing S. E. by S. eight leagues off, and appearing in three ſmall high hummocks, like three diſtinct iſlands; having hal'd up S. for a little time to make it plainer, we ſteer'd away S. by W. for St. *Jago*. At noon this day had good obſervation in 16° 52′ N. the northmoſt hummock of *Sal* then bearing E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. diſtant five leagues *per* eſtimation; then appear'd a ſingle hummock far diſtant from the other three, which was the iſland *Bonaviſta*, bearing E. S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. diſtant eight leagues. We could ſee no land joyn any of the hummocks of *Sal* together. The true latitude of the N. end of *Sal* is 16° 50′; and the true weſting from *Fero* to the iſland *Sal* is 102 leagues; weſting made theſe twenty-four hours 33; before 269; total weſting made from *Fero* 302. At noon this day ſetting off my reckoning upon the plat, we found thereby that the N. end of *Sal* ought then to bear of me E. diſtant four leagues, ſo that I was by my dead reckoning but one league to the E. too much, as I found by ſetting the iſland. Yeſterday in the evening we rattled our ſhrouds, and this day mended our ſhatter'd main-top, and let one reef out of our top-ſails.

Friday the 1ſt. All theſe twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind at E. ſteering S. by W. till twelve laſt night; the wind ſcanting we hal'd up S. till ſeven this morning, when we deſcry'd the N. December.

point

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A

The Cocoa Nut Orchard

The standing Pool of fresh Water but Dry when I was there

The Well

The Fort & Chapel on the top of y^e^ Hill.

N. W. by W.

Fuego

The little Island.

W.

S. W.

W. Point.

7

8

9

10

12 Fathom

S. E. by E.

We hal'd the Sayne in the Bay, & caught store of Fish

East point

A Draught of y^e^ Harbour of Praya in the Island S^t^ Jago one of the Cape de Verds.

Clark sc. Grays Inn

point of St. *Jago*, bearing S. by W. diſtant 8 leagues; then hal'd cloſe S. by E. and S. S. E. that we might be ſure to weather the iſland; about ten ſaw *Santa Mayo*, bearing S. E. by E. ſeeming like a ſmall hummock about ſeven leagues off. At noon this day had good obſervation in latitude 15° 27′ N. the N. point of St. *Jago* (on which is a very high and ſteep hill) then bearing W. S. W. diſtant ſix leagues, the body of the iſle of *May* S. E. by E. ſix leagues, ſeeming as underneath is pourtray'd. PHILLIPS. December, 1693.

SANTA MAYO.

E. S. E. 6 leagues. S. E. by E. 6 leagues S. E. 8 leagues.

The North Point of St. *Jago* ſeems thus, bearing W. S. W. 7 leagues.

Saturday the 2d. From noon yeſterday until ſix in the evening we ſteer'd S. S. E. and S. E. by S. along the iſland of St. *Jago*, at which time took in our ſmall, and hal'd up our low ſails, and ſtood to the E. off, under our topſails only, *Santa Mayo* then bearing E. N. E. diſtance five leagues, and the S. E. point of St. *Jago* S. S. W. diſtance three leagues. At ten we brac'd our foretopſail to the maſt, and lay by for day-light to get into the harbour of *Praya*, to refit our ſhip; at ſix in the morning made ſail and ſtood in for the port, and about ten we got in, off of the ſteep heads on the ſtarboard ſide going in (which ſeem as if they were cut even down with a ſpade.) We found ſoundings as follow, *viz.* off the firſt had ten fathom, then nine, then eight, then ſeven, when we let go our anchor in the midſt, between the ſtarboard ſhore and the little iſland on the larboard or W. ſhore going in, which iſland bore, when at an anchor, due W. of us, the ſteep point over-againſt it N. E. the fort and church on the top of the hill N. W. by W. We rid ſomewhat more than a cable's length from each ſhore, and about a mile from the bottom of the bay, which is fine and ſandy, with a large cocoa-nut orchard near the water-ſide. We veer'd out one third of our ſmall-bower, with which we brought to, and carry'd out a ſtream-anchor and hawſer to the W. N. W. to ſteddy the ſhip on the land-breezes. Here the trade-winds conſtantly blow between the N. N. E. and E. N. E. the night is commonly calm, and towards morning you have for moſt part ſmall breezes off the land: we rid here as in a mill-pond, and the ground is very clean and ſandy. The iſland of St. *Jago* lies in the latitude 15° 25′ N. being full of barren high mountains, on which are bred vaſt numbers of jackanapes, the leaſt I ever met with; they are ſold for a trifle, but the leaſt cold kills them. The iſland extends about twenty leagues in length, S. E. and N. W. its greateſt breadth is about ten leagues, E. N. E. and W. S. W. The beſt road in the iſland is port *de Praya*, where there is good ſandy ground, and ſafe riding with a ſmall ſcope of cable. Near the cod of the bay is a very large cocoa-nut orchard, with plenty of fruit, in which near the ſea-ſide is a large hole, where they told me there us'd to be freſh water to ſupply ſhipping; but at my being there I ſaw not one drop, ſo that we were forc'd to fill what we did at a well, inclos'd with a ſtone wall, which reach'd from the bottom about two foot above the ground; the water therein was about a foot and half deep, which, being oblig'd to hand up in buckets, occaſion'd a tediouſneſs in filling our casks, and diſturb'd the water to that degree, that it was as thick as puddle, ſo that it ſerv'd us for no other uſe but to boil our proviſions with; the well is three good cables length diſtant from the ſea, which occaſion'd us great trouble, as well as damage to our casks, in rolling them ſo far over ſharp rocky fragments, which the way along the orchard-wall to the well is full of, they dropping from the impending hill. As [*See Plate* A.]

ſoon

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ſoon as we came to an anchor we ſaluted the iſland with five guns, but were anſwer'd only with three, which diſtinction I did not well reliſh, having the king's jack and pendant flying; but not knowing how to help it, we went about getting our boats out, which when we were buſy about, there was a gun fired from the little fort on the brow of the hill, to command us aſhore, which we regarded not, but purſu'd our buſineſs; in a ſhort time there was another fired, and ſoon after a third, with a ſhot, which dropt half way between the fort and our ſhip: being loth to make them waſte more of their powder and ball, our pinnace being ready, myſelf and one of the *African* company's factors, my doctor and purſer, went in her aſhore, where when we arriv'd we found a dozen of half-ſtarv'd ſoldiers attending our landing; they had each a long ſword and a lance, but they look'd more like skeletons than men, and ſo very ragged, that, if the proverb be true, they were all heathen philoſophers. Being landed, we were receiv'd by thoſe lank gentlemen with a ſort of civil ſtatelineſs, and conducted towards the hill where their commanding officer expected us; we accompany'd them up a craggy, ſteep, uncouth way, till at length, half out of breath, we reach'd the ſummit, where we were receiv'd by a well-look'd old man, who, after the civility of our hats, and bidding us welcome, deſired us to walk on with him, which we did, and in our paſſage the firſt ſight I met with was a cow kill'd and skinn'd, and cut into divers ſmall meſſes, moſt nauſeouſly mangled in the butchering, and as lean as the guard. I was ſorry to ſee ſuch a ſample of their proviſions, ſince I had occaſion for ſome quantities, to nouriſh and ſupport our poor wounded men, of which we had above thirty. The officer ſeeing me eye the meat, offer'd to preſent me with ſome of it to ſend aboard; I civilly thank'd him, and declin'd his proffer, well knowing the *Portugueze* don't uſe to make preſents but with expectation of ten times the value in return, but told him, *If he could provide me ſome cows againſt the morning I would buy them, if not too dear:* he reply'd, *That none but the governor, who liv'd at St.* Jago *town, the metropolis of the iſland, three leagues to the* W. *of us, durſt ſell any cattle; but for other proviſions, that the country people would bring down ſome to the ſea-ſide in the morning to trade with us.* By this time he had led us to an old houſe, which we aſcended by a crazy pair of ſtairs into a large open room, where being ſeated, he began to interrogate us, *who we were? whence we came?* and *whither bound?* in which having fully ſatisfy'd him, *I demanded the reaſon of his firing ſo eagerly and often to command us aſhore:* he reply'd, *That pyrates frequently came in there under* Engliſh *colours, and that in truth he himſelf being upon the outward ſteep point, cloſe to which we ſteer'd coming in, and ſeeing our ſails full of ſhot-holes, concluded us to be one, which was the reaſon of his earneſtneſs for our coming aſhore:* therefore, for his better ſatisfaction, I ſhew'd him my letter of mart, which he receiv'd with much reſpect. Afterwards we fell into a general talk of the ſtate of affairs in *Europe*, then of navigation, the coaſt and trade of *Guiney*, which he had been all over, and gave a very good account of; and indeed thro' all our diſcourſe I found him to be a man of general knowledge and experience, and of a more civil and condeſcending temper than is uſually found among the *Portugueze*, which prompted me to ask him, *If he was of that nation?* He aſſur'd me, *he was nothing a-kin to them, but was a* Flanderkin, *born in* Oſtend, *who had, by great promiſes from the Governor at* Lisbon, *been perſuaded to accompany him to this place, where, when he arriv'd, he found ſo little performance, that he would be glad any manner of way to return into his own country.* I offer'd him his paſſage with me *gratis*, and aſſur'd him of a hearty welcome, and to ſend my boat any where for him the night before I ſhould ſail, and to put him aſhore in *Guiney*, *Barbadoes*, or *England*, as he ſhould chooſe; he thankfully acknowledg'd my kindneſs, but told me, *he was ſo narrowly watch'd when any ſhipping lay there, that it was impoſſible for him to get aboard.* By this time one of the guard came in great haſte to acquaint him he ſaw the lieutenant-governor coming, whereupon we all walk'd to the gate to attend him, whence we ſaw him riding, without any attendance, as faſt as his mule could carry him, which ran up and down the craggy ſteep hills as freely and firmly as our horſes can do in a ſmooth road. As ſoon as he arriv'd and alighted, the old officer paid his reſpects to him in a moſt cringing ſervile manner, he not taking the leaſt notice of him, which troubled me, to ſee that age, experience, and worth, ſhould be ſo undervalued and trampled upon by a young boy that had nothing in him but power, pride, and emptineſs; for I am certain he could not be twenty years old, and had the moſt abject mean preſence that I have ſeen. We gave him the civility of our hats, he hardly vouchſafing to touch his, but gave us many diſdainful looks and glances, and teſtify'd ſo much ſuperciliouſneſs in all his carriage to us, that it began to ſtir the old man

in

in me, and made me put on a reſolution to return him his civilities in his own way, hardly giving him an anſwer to any thing he aſk'd me, but wholly applying my diſcourſe to the firſt old officer, and eying him with as little regard as he had done us. By which uſage I perceiv'd he began to be ſenſible of his error, and a little more civil: but in truth I could not ſmother my reſentment ſo ſoon; therefore in brief I reply'd to him, who and whence we were, and whither bound, and that we had put in here only to fill water, and purchaſe proviſions if we might have it. Then he enquir'd of me about our engagement with the *Frenchman*, deſiring a relation of it? I told him, We had met, fought, and got clear of a *French* man of war, but that my buſineſs aboard was ſo preſſing, that I could not then ſpare time to give him a particular account of the action, but that I would ſhortly come to St. *Jago* to wait upon, and pay my reſpects to the governor; and ſo left him with as little ceremony as he met us, and went directly aboard.

Sunday the 3d. After we came aboard yeſterday we unbent the main-ſail; and having lower'd the yard, got it fore and aft, in order to ſplice a piece ten foot long to the ſtarboard yard arm, where it was broke. About three o'clock this morning got our guns over, and gave the ſhip a heel to port, in order to ſtop our leaks on the ſtarboard ſide, where we receiv'd three ſhots under water afore the cheſtree. Our carpenters ſpent till two in the evening in ſtopping them, our men in the mean time giving the ſhip a ſcrub as low as they could: then we heel'd the ſhip the other way, and found a very large ſhot-hole in the larboard-bow, about a foot under water. Our carpenters ſpent the reſt of the day in ſtopping that, and righted the ſhip before night. About nine this morning I went with ſome of my officers to pay my reſpects to the governor at St. *Jago* town, having our trumpets in the pinnace's head. After we had row'd about ſeven miles, we came about a point into the bay near the town. We run our boat aſhore right againſt the gate; where being landed, and ſeeing only a few negroes and children, our trumpets ſounded a levet, which ſoon brought an officer down to us, who conducted us to the governor's palace at the upper part of the town; where we ſaw no body but negroe women, who talk'd to us many ſmutty *Engliſh* words, making laſcivious undecent geſtures with their bodies, which were all naked, excepting a little clout about their waſte, hanging down to the middle of the thigh, which they would often take up to ſhew us their merchandize. We were inform'd that the governor was at church; but our trumpets had alarm'd him ſo, that we had not waited long ere he appear'd, advancing towards us at the head of the congregation. There were two young captains and the prieſt accompanied him, his horſe being led after him in pretty good equipage. When he was come where we were, we ſaluted him with our hats, which he and his company return'd very courteouſly. Then he deſired us to walk in, and led us thro' a court into a large hut, with an iron balcony facing the ſea, towards which it had a fine proſpect. After we were ſeated I acquainted him we were come to pay our reſpects to him, and gave him an account of our voyage, and what induced us to put into his port, deſiring he would permit us to furniſh our ſelves with what freſh water and proviſions we had occaſion for. He reply'd, That ſince he was perſwaded we were upon an honeſt account, we might furniſh our ſelves with what e'er the iſland afforded: which favour I thankfully acknowledged. Then he aſk'd me for news from *Europe*. I gave him an account of what I could recollect, eſpecially of our ſucceſſes at ſea, and that the *French* did not dare appear ſince we burnt their ſhips at *Cherburg* and *La Hoge*, excepting ſome ſmall privateers and pickeroons to moleſt our trade; that our fleet lay all the ſummer before their ports, and upon their coaſt, deſtroying it and bombarding their towns, but no *French* fleet would appear to defend them. He ſeem'd very unwilling to believe me, being, as I found, in the *French* intereſt, in praiſe of whoſe bravery and ſtrength he did much enlarge. Next he enquir'd about our engagement. I acquainted him with the whole matter of fact; and having anſwer'd his queſtions about the enemies force and our own, he ſhook his head, and told me, He could not tell how to perſwade himſelf it was poſſible I could eſcape from a man of war of fifty guns. I reply'd, That I was very glad of my good fortune, but that it was certainly ſo; and that if he would ſend any one aboard to ſee my wounded men, and the poſture my ſhip was in, he would be convinc'd it was no jeſt. I further aſſur'd him, that, were he in *Europe*, he would underſtand and find by frequent inſtances, that it was no improbable nor uncommon thing for our *Engliſh* merchant ſhips to clear and defend themſelves from the *French* men of war and privateers, by plain downright fighting, if they were not out-number'd. After which he ſaid no more about that,

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Viſit to the governor.

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but congratulated my good luck in saving my ship. I fancy'd him all this time a little uneasy by reason he saw so many of my officers and passengers with me, and that he had an inclination to give me some treat, but that he was afraid they would devour him; therefore calling one of them to me, I whisper'd him to go with the rest and take a walk for an hour; which they soon did, making their excuse to the governor, that they had a desire to see the town, which he was not backward to grant them, none remaining with me but my brother. Soon after they were gone, we had a napkin laid, and a loaf of good white bread; then he went into the next room and brought out a box of marmalad, and a square case bottle half full of *Madeira* wine in which he drank to me; but had it not been out of perfect civility, I had rather have pledg'd him in water; for it was so thick, foul and hot, that it had like to have made me commit an indecency in his excellency's presence; but having laid a foundation of good punch in the morning aboard, it fortify'd my stomach so as that I had power to contain myself. When our collation was over he began to enquire of me what provisions I wanted, acquainting me that the cattle were several miles within land, that he had sent for some, and that none were allow'd to sell them but himself; which I told him I was very glad of, because I should have to do with none but his excellency, and that if he pleas'd I would take half a dozen cows of him, and pay him in any goods that we had on board. Then he demanded what goods we had? I nam'd him powder and muskets. He reply'd, he had ten thousand good muskets in the island, with ammunition sufficient for them; which tho' I knew to be rhodomantado, I only answer'd, That he was excellently well provided. Then I nam'd him other goods, such as linen, painted callicoes, sayes, perpetuanoes, iron, brass, pewter, *&c.* all which he slighted, declaring he would dispose of none of his cattle but for ready money. I gave him to understand that I had none of that, nor was it customary for merchants ships to carry monies with them to purchase necessaries, having either credit where they come, or effects to raise money with: more especially in my voyage to *Guiney*, where we had many good factories, and where our *European* coins were not passable. But notwithstanding what I urg'd, I found him persist in his resolution to dispose of none but for ready cash. But whatever he pretended, I fancy the chief reason was, that he had few or none to dispose of, else he would not have slighted such commodities as I offer'd in exchange, most of which I knew to be very estimable at *Lisbon*, much more at such a distant island as his: however, he gave me permission to buy what goats, sheep, *&c.* I could of the inhabitants in truck, and so ended our discourse upon that topick. Next he ask'd me for some of our *East India* commanders, whom he nam'd; and going into the next room, brought out two or three *English* walking canes, which, he told me, they had presented him when here, which he esteem'd so much, that he would highly value and keep them while he liv'd, in respect to them that gave them, still having an eye upon that in my hand, which was a pretty clouded cane with an engrav'd silver head. I soon gues's'd what he drove at; and not knowing how handsomely to come off (for now he began to handle and commend my cane) and perceiving no other remedy, I told him, That since my first arrival in the island, I had intended to make his excellency some present, and had been often considering what might be most acceptable to him, and was very glad now to find that he had such a value for canes, and begg'd that he would be pleas'd to accept that which I had, as a token of my respects, that thereby I might have the honour of some place in his remembrance, as well as my brethren the *East India* captains. He receiv'd the cane and compliment with abundance of pleasure and satisfaction, as was manifest by his countenance as well as his words, assuring me, that he should never see that cane but he should remember me with esteem, and so immediately convey'd it and the rest out of my sight. Afterwards I gave him an invitation to come and dine aboard our ship, where he should find a cordial welcome, as well as all due respect. He receiv'd the invitation kindly, but assur'd me, that he had not been on board any ship since he had been governor there, and that if he were inclin'd to go, the inhabitants would lose their lives ere they would permit him, lest any harm should befal him, or tricks be put upon him, as there have been on some governors of these islands, by pirates and privateers, who, when they have got them aboard, have carry'd them away, if they did not forthwith give orders to bring them such a quantity of provisions as they demanded, for which they would pretend to give a bill of exchange payable at *London*, but drawn upon *John a-Nokes*, or the pump at *Algate*, as *Avery*'s bill was to the governor of St. *Thomas*'s isle. Being in the balcony with his excellency, I enquir'd if

there

there were any good *Madeira* wine to be bought there? He told me, There was; and a *Portugueſe*, in a handſome garb, juſt then walking in the ſtreet under us, the governor call'd to him, and ask'd, If he had any wine to truck for merchandize? Aſſoon as he heard and ſaw the governor, he took off his hat, made a profound bow, and fell upon his knee in the ſtreet, and then anſwer'd, That he had a barrel of wine to diſpoſe of, but that he muſt have money for it; but the governor acquainting him that I had none, and that he had no more to ſay to him, he roſe; and having made another humble cringe, walk'd with his hat in his hand till out of ſight. By this time my officers return'd, and I took my leave of the governor. We parted very kindly, with a promiſe of ſending him a *Cheſhire* cheeſe next day. This governor was of a very ſmall ſtature, about fifty years of age, of a noble family in *Portugal*. His complection was ſwarthy, his aſpect mean, and his cloaths very ordinary. He had a long black wig which reach'd to his middle, but ſomebody had pluck'd out all the curls. He ſeem'd to me to be a man of good parts, experience and ſubtlety. The foundation of his houſe is as high as the tops of moſt of the other houſes in the town, which lies in a bottom under it, and may contain about two hundred houſes in all, among which there is a convent, a nunnery, and a good large church near the caſtle, which lies on a hill on the eaſt ſide of the town. It makes a pretty good ſhew at ſea, and is mounted with twelve guns. Here is a biſhop ſent from *Liſbon*: and in the town the majority of the inhabitants are *Portugueſe*, but in the reſt of the iſland there are twenty blacks to one *Portugueſe*. Thro' the middle of the town there runs a ſmall brook, which paſſes thro' the foot of the town wall, and empties itſelf into the ſea. 'Tis about eight yards broad, and about a foot deep. The road here of St. *Jago* is ſmaller and more open than *Praya*, and the ground foul and rocky. We had an alfeſes to wait upon us to the boat; which having enter'd and put off, we gave them a farewel with our trumpets, and row'd away for our ſhip, and got aboard about four in the evening.

Monday the 4th. This day our carpenters ſplic'd a piece to the main-yard, and clap'd two good iron hoops and two wooldings up it. We unbent our ſhot topſails, and brought others to the yards; fitted our ſhatter'd main-ſtay, ſent the longboat for water, of which ſhe fill'd ſixteen punchions. We had fine weather, and a curious eaſy gale at N. E. In the morning I went aſhore at the cod of the bay, which I found cover'd with ragged merchants; ſome with oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, pine apples, bananas, *&c.* Here one with a couple of ſmall hens in his hand, there another with a little monkey upon his knee; a little farther, one with a goat betwixt his legs, another near him with a hog ty'd to his arm, and our ſeamen ſo buſy trafficking with them for old ragged ſhirts, drawers, or any other moveables (for nothing came amiſs) that the trade was very brisk and diverting. After we had pleas'd our ſelves ſome time with this rag market, we walk'd up the hill to deliver the cheeſe I had promis'd the governor, which I intruſted with the before-nam'd old officer, preſenting himſelf with another. Here I met with a gentleman of the iſland who was come on purpoſe to offer to ſupply me with what proviſions I wanted, and to take what money I could muſter, and the reſt in goods for it. I gave him orders for fifteen goats, ten ſheep, four hogs, ſixty hens, five hundred oranges, and five hundred lemons, which he promis'd ſhould be ready at the ſea ſide in the morning. I had this time more leiſure to ſurvey the little garriſon on the hill, where there are about eight ſmall houſes, moſt of them ready to tumble down. Their church is the beſt, and next the *corps de guard*. On the weſt brow of the hill is a little breaſtwork, thro' which peep ſix ſmall iron minion guns, ſo much out of kelter, that they were ready to tumble out of their carriages. Except a croſs or two I ſaw nothing more worth notice there. I would have had the old officer gone off to dine with me, but he refus'd, telling me, It was as much as his life was worth to attempt it. And indeed they are ſo jealous of the inhabitants going off with ſhips that call here, that they do not keep a boat in the iſland, at leaſt I ſaw none here nor at St. *Jago* town; and a guard is kept conſtantly along the marine while any ſhips are in port, to prevent it. There are vaſt numbers of goats, I having ſeen three or four flocks near the ſhip, in each of which there could not be leſs than 500. Their ſheep are but ordinary, their hogs indifferent, and ſo are their poultry. Their lemons and limes are good; but their *China* oranges are the beſt I ever met with, I think exceeding thoſe of *Liſbon*, and ſo common, that for an old rag you may buy an hundred. There is in this bay great plenty of fiſh, and very good. With our hooks we catch'd them as faſt as we could hale them in; but with our ſayne, which we hal'd two or three times in the little ſandy bay near the eaſt point coming in (as appears in the preceding draught) we caught

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caught ſuch quantities, that our men not being able to eat them all, they dried and ſalted abundance.

This iſland of St. *Jago* is the largeſt of the *Cape de Verdes*, or, as they were antiently call'd, the *Gorgades*; the reſt of the iſlands, which are nine, being ſubordinate to this governor. They were diſcover'd, according to Dr. *Heylin*, in the year 1440. by a *Genoeſe* whoſe name was *Antonio de Noli*, employ'd thereto by and at the charge of duke *Henry*, a younger ſon of *John* the I. king of *Portugal*. The town of St. *Jago* was taken firſt by Sir *Francis Drake* in 1585. and by Sir *Anthony Shirley* in 1596. The main trade of theſe iſlands is in ſalt, and that chiefly at *Santa Mayo*, where our ſhips bound to *Newfoundland* generally go to load it for curing their fiſh. Alſo ſome ſhips call, in their way to our *American* plantations, at this iſland, *Bonaviſta*, St. *Nicolas*, St. *Vincents*, &c. where they purchaſe aſſes very cheap, and come to a good market for them at *Barbadoes*, where all ſorts of brutes go off well. They lie very convenient for the refreſhment of ſhipping in their way to *Guiney* or the *Eaſt Indies*, and few *Engliſh*, *Dutch*, or *French Eaſt Indiamen* but call here outward-bound. Their own *Braſil* fleet never fails. The negroes here go naked, except a cloth about their middles, and a roll of linen the women wear about their heads. The cloaths they wear are of cotton, and chequer'd or ſtrip'd with blue. I have been told they make great quantities of theſe cloaths to ſell, being much eſteem'd, and a very good commodity upon the gold coaſt in *Guiney*; but for my part I ſaw none but what the women wore; neither did any body mention or offer any ſuch to me for ſale.

Tueſday the fifth. This morning, according to promiſe, I found the proviſion we had beſpoke at the water-ſide, which we bought very reaſonably, and paid for them three pounds in *Spaniſh* money which I had pick'd up among my officers, and the reſt in muskets, coral, and painted linen. I went and took leave of the old officer, intending to go no more aſhore, and about noon return'd aboard, where our men were buſy ſetting our ſhrouds well up fore and aft. Our carpenters had ſaw'd a ſpare maintopmaſt we had into two halves, with which this morning they fiſh'd the foremaſt, which was very crazy. After having ſay'd and ſpik'd the fiſhes, they clap'd four good wooldings upon them. We got up our low yards, and made all clear to ſail next morning. We had this day a fine eaſy gale at N. E. with ſome ſmall ſhowers of rain. Laſt night *Thomas Cronow*, an honeſt ſtout *Welſhman*, one of our ſailors, died of his wounds received in the late engagement; one of his legs being carry'd off about the ancle, and half his other foot by the ſame ſhot. He was row'd ſome diſtance from the ſhip, and his body committed to the deep.

They leave St. Jago.

Wedneſday the 6th. This morning at four we got our ſtream anchor and hauſer aboard; then having loos'd and hoiſted our top-ſails, hove up our ſmall bower, and ſtood out to ſea with the wind at N. E. a fine freſh gale: at five were without the point of the harbour; then ſet fore-ſail, main-ſail, and ſprit-ſail, and ſtood away S. E. by E. for the coaſt of *Guiney*, with the wind a point large. At noon this day we had good obſervation of the latitude in 14° 45′ N.; S. 23′; W. 4′; the S. E. point of St. *Jago* bearing N. W. by N. diſtant ſix leagues, and the S. end of the iſle of *May* N. by E. diſtant eight leagues, from which I take my departure. As we lay in the port of *Praya* we ſaw the iſland *Fuego* over the weſt point of the harbour. It ſmoak'd all day, and all night we perceiv'd it belch ſparkles of fire very thick.

Iſland Fuego.

Thurſday the 7th. At noon yeſterday the S. end of the iſle of *May* bore N. by E. diſtant twenty-four miles: from which time till noon this day we ſteer'd away S. E. by E. having run *per* log an hundred and fourteen miles; had good obſervation this day, latitude 13° 33′, eaſting 90′. Yeſterday in the evening we clean'd all fore and aft between decks; and having cover'd the gratings cloſe with tarpaulins, we burnt three buckets of tar to keep the ſhip wholſome, and prevent infection and diſtempers. We hoiſted in our pinnace and yaul; and having clap'd the boat rope and a hauſer upon the longboat, tow'd her aſtern. We unbent our cables, got up our anchors, clap'd on hauſe-boards, and took up one reef in our top-ſails.

Friday the 8th. From noon yeſterday we ſteer'd S. E. by E. 112′, with a fine freſh gale at N. E. which towards noon this day began to falter; had good clear weather, and obſervation of the latitude in 12° 30′ N. Eaſt departure made was before 90′, now 93, total 183′.

Saturday the 9th. Theſe twenty-four hours we had a ſmall gale of wind from N. E. to E. by N. Diſtance run *per* log 54′, latitude 12° 1′; eaſting before 183′, now 43, total 226. This morning we ſold at the maſt the cloaths of *Gablier Ledlers* and *Thomas Cronows*, two of our men that were kill'd in the late engagement.

Sunday

Sunday the 10th. From noon yeſterday till eight in the evening we had very faint ſmall gales ſhuffling from E. by N. to S. with extraordinary flaſhes of lightning, and dreadful cracks of thunder, and a diſmal black sky; wherefore we, with expedition, handed all ſails except our fore-ſail, and expected ſome violent ſquall. About ten we had a very hard guſt of wind at S. W. accompany'd with heavy ſhowers of rain, and moſt terrifying thunder and lightning. It laſted until twelve, at which time we had fine clear weather, and a moderate gale at S. S. E. veering to S. W. and ſo to W. N. W. we keeping our courſe S. E. by E. The ſmall tempeſt we had was a tornado, very frequent on the coaſt of *Africa*; which being the firſt I ever was in, did a little ſurprize me; for I never heard ſuch thunder, nor ſaw ſo dreadful a sky before, nor ſuch flaſhes of lightning, which I was fearful would fire the ſhip, it leaving a ſulphureous ſmell behind it: but afterwards we had them ſo frequently, that we little regarded them, having always timely notice of their coming, to hale our ſails up; which when done we let them blow their fury over, which was ſoon done, they ſeldom laſting an hour, and near the coaſt of *Guiney* blowing generally off the ſhore, ſo that there is but little danger. Theſe and the extraordinary thunder and lightning are a ſure ſign of approaching the coaſt of *Guiney*; for on the ſouth ſide of the line I ſail'd four hundred leagues between two and three degrees ſouth latitude, in my paſſage from the iſland St. *Thomas* to *Barbadoes*, and met with none of them, nor thunder or lightning, but fine ſteady brisk gales between S. S. E. and E. S. E. They ſhift all round the compaſs in half an hour. Diſtance run theſe twenty-four hours is 24, courſe various; latitude, deducting 5′ S. 11° 56′; eaſting before 226, now 20, total 246.

Tornado.

Monday the 11th. From noon yeſterday until eight at night we ſteer'd S. E. by E. 29′; then S. E. until noon this day, when we had an obſervation in 10° 40′; wind at N. and N. N. E. freſh gale; eaſting before 246, now 95, total 341.

Tueſday the 12th. From noon yeſterday until noon this day we ſteer'd S. E. 124′ by the log, with a fine gale of wind at N. E. and N. N. E. and ſmooth water. At twelve had good obſervation in 9° 12′ N. latitude; and eaſt departure, before 341, now 87, total 428.

Wedneſday the 13th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had but a ſmall gale of wind at N. and N. E. ſteering S. E. Diſtance run *per* log 33′; latitude by reckoning, 8° 49′; eaſting before 428, now 24; total 452. This morning we catch'd a great ſhark eight foot long. PHILLIPS. Decemb. 1693.

Thurſday the 14th. From noon yeſterday until four we had a ſmall top-gallant gale at N. E. courſe ſteer'd S. E. then calm till ſix, when we had a faint breeſe at S. E. till ten; then becalm'd again till eight this morning, when a gale ſprung up at W. S. W. freſhning till twelve. We lying up S. E. had good obſervation in 8° 34′; eaſting before 452, now 6; total 458.

Friday the 15th. Between one and two in the evening yeſterday we had heavy ſhowers of rain, with an eaſy gale of wind at N. W. by W. ſteering S. E. by E. Diſtance run *per* log 54′. By noon this day the wind veer'd to S. W. a fine gale, but cloſe cloudy weather. Latitude, by reckoning, 8° 4′ N. eaſting before 458, now 45; total 503.

Saturday the 16th. Theſe twenty-four hours we ſteer'd S. E. by E. with a fine top-gallant gale from W. S. W. to W. N. W. Weather cloſe and cloudy, with great thunder and lightning all round. This morning we had a moſt hideous black sky, which occaſion'd us to hand all our ſails except the ſprit-ſail, expecting a ſtrong tornado; but it all ended in moſt ſevere ſhowers of rain, which continu'd from nine till twelve o'clock. Diſtance run *per* log is 53′; latitude, by reckoning, 7° 37′; eaſting before 503, now 40; total 543.

Sunday the 17th. From noon yeſterday we have had a very black ſky, with much rain, thunder and lightning, until eight this morning, when we had a fine gale at E. N. E. and E. but at twelve were becalm'd, when we had good obſervation in 7° 7′ N. eaſting before 543, now 41; total 584.

Monday the 18th. Yeſterday from twelve we lay becalm'd until ſix in the evening, when we had a ſmall gale at N. ſteering S. E. by E. till twelve; then E. S. E. till ten this morning, at which time the gale died away. Diſtance run *per* log 53; latitude, by reckoning, 6° 44′; eaſting before 584, now 47; total 631. This day had ſeveral ſhoals of fiſh about the ſhip.

Tueſday the 19th. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had but ſmall breeſes from W. to S. W. ſteering E. S. E. and E. by S. until four this morning; at which time it fell ſtark calm, and continued ſo until noon, with moſt exceſſive heat. Diſtance run *per* log 19′; latitude by reckoning 6° 39′; eaſting before 631, now 18; total 649.

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Wedneſday the 20th. We lay becalm'd from noon yeſterday till ſix; then had a ſmall breeſe at N. W. till five in the morning, when it fell calm again, and continued ſo till noon; at which time we had good obſervation in 6° 40′ N. eaſting before 649, now 12; total 661.

Thurſday the 21ſt. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had ſmall faint gales from N. W. to N. by E. we ſteering due E. Diſtance run *per* log 28′; had good obſervation; latitude 6° 42′; eaſting before 661, now 28; total 689.

Friday the 22d. Theſe twenty-four hours we have had a fine gale of wind between the W. and N. we ſteering due E. for cape *Mount*, we having been theſe three days in the latitude of it; having run 60′ by the log at eight o'clock this morning; at which time we deſcried cape *Mount*, bearing E. by N. diſtant by eſtimation ſeven leagues, ſhewing as in the ſubſequent figure. At noon this day we had good obſervation in latitude 6° 36′ N. the cape bearing then N. E. by N. diſtant four leagues; ſo that I was off the cape 12′ S. W. by S. which work'd gives 10′ S. and 6′ W. ſo that by my obſervation, which I judge to be very good, cape *Mount* lies in latitude 6° 46′ N. which is more northerly than 'tis generally laid down in the books and charts. At the ſame time heaving the lead, we had forty-four fathom water, and dark ſandy oozy ground. I made E. departure from *Santa Mayo* to cape *Mount*, exactly 754 miles, or 251 leagues, as follows; *Cape Mount.*

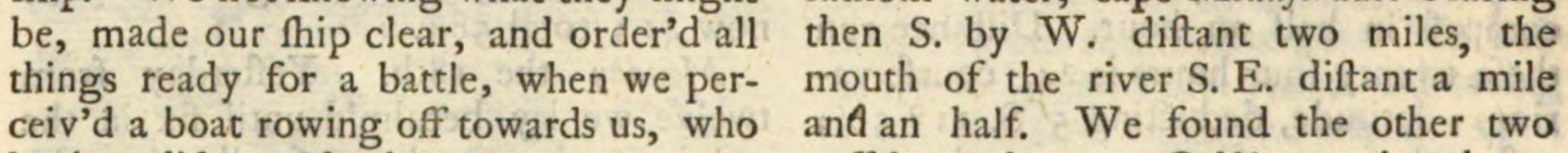
Eaſting before	689
Now	59
	748
	6
Total	754

Thus ſhews cape *Mount* ſeven leagues off, and at the bearings ſet down.

E. N. E. ½ E. E. by N. E.

Saturday the 23d. From noon yeſterday we ſteer'd along ſhore S. E. by E. for cape *Mounſeradoe*, with a ſmall gale of wind. In the night hove the lead frequently, having eighteen and twenty fathoms; in which depths we kept till daylight, when we ſaw the cape, and ſoon after deſcried three veſſels riding at anchor under it; one of which ſeem'd a large ſhip. We not knowing what they might be, made our ſhip clear, and order'd all things ready for a battle, when we perceiv'd a boat rowing off towards us, who having diſcover'd what we were, came aboard us, being the pinnace of the *Eaſt India merchant*, captain *Shurley*, my conſort, who had ſent her to intreat me to put in there to his aſſiſtance, he having, off the cape, had his fore-maſt and fore-yard ſplit to pieces with a thunder-bolt, and his fore-topgallant-ſail ſet on fire by the precedent flaſh of lightning. I intended to wood and water at *Junco*, about twelve leagues more to the E. where is a good river, and plenty of wood; but underſtanding this diſaſter that had befallen captain *Shurley*, I alter'd my reſolution, and made all the way I could to get into *Mounſeradoe* road, which, with the ſea breeze, I did; and about four in the evening let go my anchor in eight fathom water, cape *Mounſeradoe* bearing then S. by W. diſtant two miles, the mouth of the river S. E. diſtant a mile and an half. We found the other two veſſels to be one *Gubbins* an interloper come from *Barbadoes*, chiefly laden with rum, to trade for gold and ſlaves, of which I bought about 500 gallons of him cheap, and ſold it to good advantage; the other veſſel was the *Stanier* ſloop, with Mr. *Colker* on board her, who was agent of *Cherborough*, and came thence to trade along the coaſt for teeth, *&c.* *Cape Mounſeradoe.*

Thus ſhews cape *Mounſeradoe* bearing N. four leagues off.



Cape *Mounſeradoe* is about ſixteen leagues diſtant from cape *Mount*, there being no high land between them. Cape *Mounſeradoe* is a round mountain, not near

near ſo high as cape *Mount*. Within it to the N. N. E. is good riding in twelve, ten, or eight fathom water. The beſt anchoring is in nine fathom, bringing the cape to bear S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. of you, two miles off. About a mile within the cape is a ſand on the ſhore; and juſt at the beginning of the ſand is a fine ſmall rivulet of curious clear cool water, which diſtils thro' the woods and rocks, and there empties itſelf into the ſea. About a cable's length from which to the eaſt there are two pools of freſh water under two great ſtones. The people here are civil and courteous, but great beggars, the king and cappaſhiers continually haunting us for daſhes (which is their word for preſents.) Here is ſtore of good rice, and cheap, which they brought us in abundance: and for our better conveniency of trading with them, as well as to lodge our carpenters that lay aſhore in the nights to cut wood, we erected two tents with old ſails, upon the ſpit of ſand at the mouth of the river. The chief commodity we traded for was rice, of which I bought about five tuns, paying moſtly for it in booges or cawries, which are the goods they chiefly eſteem, for a pint of which we could buy 30 *lb.* of rice. The other goods they approved of were iron bars and red *Welſh* plains; but they had nothing conſiderable to trade with us for them. We bought ſome fowls of them which they call *Cocadecoes*, being not bigger than our *Engliſh* chickens, and eat dry. We alſo purchas'd ſome limes, wild oranges, pine apples, and two or three ſmall goats. They had a few ſmall elephants teeth, but not worth our regard. About two miles E. S. E. and E. within the cape, is a fine large river call'd in the *Platts*, *Rio de St. Paulo*; the name, I preſume, given it by the *Portugueze*, who were formerly the ſole maſters, as well as firſt diſcoverers of this coaſt. About $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile without the mouth of the river is a bar, which, at high water, has upon it four foot, and at low water two and $\frac{1}{2}$, or three foot. The ſea breaks high upon it, eſpecially when the ſea breeſe blows freſh, which commonly begins at nine or ten o'clock, and continues till towards the ſame in the evening. The deepeſt water is near each ſhore. Going in our long-boat which drew three foot water, we always paſt the bar very well.

The river of St. *Paul* is a very pleaſant river, in ſome places as broad as the *Thames* at *London*, and fring'd on each ſide with thick groves of mangrove trees, which are always green; ſo that, in my opinion, nothing can be painted to give a more delightful proſpect to the eye than this naturally does. About three miles up this river we had good freſh water at low water; and about five miles up at high water; our long boat always bringing down it five tons of good, without grounding any where: One morning myſelf, and ſome officers, went in our pinnace about eight miles up the river to viſit king *Andrew* at his town. In our paſſage we ſaw ſeveral monkeys on the trees, leaping from one to the other; at ſome of which we ſhot, but kill'd none. King *Andrew*'s town lies on the larboard ſide of the river going up, and about a quarter of a mile from the river ſide; the landing to it being between two high trees, where being arriv'd, we were met by *Roy Andreo*, and his nobility, who conducted us thro' the woods to an open place, where the town lay, it being the only piece of ground I ſaw free from woods in theſe parts, ſo that I admire where the vaſt quantities of rice which they have, do grow; after welcoming us upon our entring the town, they led us to their council-hall, where they meet to hear all cauſes, diſpenſe juſtice, and debate their ſtate affairs: This judiciary is ſeated in the midſt of the town, the foundation or floor being of clay rais'd about four foot from the ground, and of a circular figure; over it, ſupported by poſts, is a ſhed, or pent-houſe, thatch'd with palm branches, to ſhelter them from the ſun or rain; between the ſhed and foundation 'tis open on all ſides, for the conveniency of light and air, and is about twelve yards diameter. Here, when we arriv'd and had climb'd up, we had ſome blocks of divers figures brought us to ſit on, as had king *Andrew* and two or three of his grandees, the reſt ſitting behind croſs-legg'd on the ground; theſe ſtools are about half a foot high, and none of the better ſort of negroes go abroad but have one carried with them, which they eſteem a piece of ſtate; being ſeated, we had ſome punch made, and opened our knap-ſacks to eat a bit of neats-tongue, and what other cold proviſions we had brought along with us; and having invited his majeſty and lords to our collation, and diſtributed ſome amongſt them, we were ſurprized to ſee each of them, inſtead of falling to, go to a hole in the floor we eat upon, and the king firſt, and the reſt following, with great devotion and ſymptoms of ſorrow, dropt ſome part of each ſort of meat we had given them into it, and the ſame of the punch, beer, brandy, and rum we gave them, and after return'd and eat and drank moſt voraciouſly, his majeſty and court being very glad of the roots and parings of the tongues, and what elſe we could not eat. I enquir'd of them

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King Andrew.

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them what they meant by putting ſome of each meat and drink into the hole; and they inform'd us, that their laſt dead king was there bury'd, and that the hole reach'd his corpſe; and that the meat and drink they put into it, was to give him ſome of all ſorts of our varieties, ere they touch'd any themſelves. I was pleas'd with their reſpect to their deceas'd monarch, tho' I could not but pity their folly and ſuperſtition. After our repaſt was over, I order'd our boats crew, *&c.* to exerciſe their guns before the king, with which he was much ſurprized, as well as pleas'd, eſpecially at our regular volleys; and to return our civility he commanded his men to ſhew us their way of fighting, which was after a confus'd manner, with lances about five foot long, with pointed iron heads; ſmall bows and arrows, as ſlender as a reed, of which moſt were poiſon'd at the end with ſome black ingredient, which if it touches the blood, kills inevitably, if the part affected be not immediately cut off: Their arrows have no iron heads nor feathers, neither do they ever ſhoot them point blank, but at random, as we do rovers; and yet they will come very near the mark they aim at: They carry ſquare targets of thin board, about four foot long, and two broad, with conveniences on the inſide to hang them on their left arms, but ſo as their hand is free to manage their bow. Here were ſome ſoldiers come from the river of *Junco*, to aſſiſt king *Andrew* in his wars, two of them had old fuſees, with which they march'd behind two that carried targets, the muzle of their pieces peeping out between two targets; in this poſture they crept on very ſilently to diſcover the enemy, which as ſoon as they pretended they had, the two guns gave fire, their lances were flung, and arrows ſhot, with a moſt diſmal horrible ſcreaming noiſe; and then they ran in confuſion back to their firſt poſt, where having reloaden their guns, and put themſelves in ſuch orderly diſorder as they uſe, they renew the attack again as before. This town is about a quarter of a mile from the river ſide, ſurrounded with woods, ſo that it is not to be ſeen till you enter it; it conſiſts of about forty houſes, or rather dog-kennels, ; the walls are built of clay, or twiſted twigs plaiſter'd over; the doors or holes to enter them are not above two foot high, ſo that we were forc'd to creep in, where we found a bank of earth rais'd about two foot from the floor, which having a mat laid thereon ſerves them for a bed; fires they ſeldom make, except in the rainy time, and then 'tis in the middle of the houſe; the mats they make here are very fine, and prettily wrought in divers figures, red and white; they are much in eſteem at *Barbadoes*, *&c.* to lay on the chamber floors under beds, inſtead of *Turkey* carpets. As to their dreſs here, the king and his cappaſhiers, or lords, wear a cotton ſort of frock, ſtrip'd or checker'd with white and black, or blue, which reaches to their knee, having a hole in it juſt big enough to put their heads through, and which they put on as we do ſhirts. If they can get an old hat they are very proud of it, elſe they wear a party-colour'd ozier bag upon their heads; the common ſort wear either a long piece of cotton cloth, about a foot wide, which they paſte about their middles, and then between their legs, letting both ends hang down before and behind; or elſe a piece of cloth about a foot ſquare, tied to a ſtring that is about their middles, and juſt ſerves to cover their privities: The womens garb is the ſame as at St. *Jago*.

There cannot be a better place forcutting wood than this is, it reaching cloſe to the water-ſide, and very ſmooth loading it; here are trees of that ſize as will ſerve to maſt a ſhip of 700 tons. Capt. *Shurley* cut here a fore-maſt, fore-yard, and two beams; and I cut a main-top maſt, ſome fiſhes for my maſt, and ten long boats of excellent fire wood: the maſts here are ſo extream ſolid and heavy, that to prevent their ſinking we were oblig'd to float them off by our boats, but they are very ſtrong ſticks. We had good diverſion here in ſhooting ſmall birds, much of the ſize and reſemblance of a ſnipe, which were very plenty along the ſand, and in ſuch flocks that we kill'd ſeven or eight at a ſhot; and they eat indifferently, though ſome were lean. At the mouth of the river we hal'd the ſayne often, and catch'd good fiſh in plenty: we had no want of veniſon, for Mr. *Colker*, the agent of *Cherborough*, would ſend his grumito's, or blacks, a hunting in a morning into the woods, and they would aſſuredly bring us a ſmall hedge deer or two before night. One of his blacks was our interpreter, for here they could ſpeak neither *Engliſh* nor *Portugueze*, as they do on the gold coaſt, by reaſon of the ſmall reſort of ſhipping to this place; the aforeſaid black ſpake their language very well, and I have obſerv'd that from hence along the coaſt to cape *Tres Puntas*, they have a different dialect every twenty leagues. I took notice here of their way of diſcovering any perſon ſuſpected of thievery, or other villainy; which is by making the perſon charg'd with the crime, for his juſtification, to drink a ſmall quantity of the juice of a certain tree, which is reddiſh, and by them call'd red-water; and if the ſaid juice makes

Way of diſcovering guilt.

makes them vomit and ſick, they are held guilty; as on the contrary, if they appear no ways diſturb'd therewith, they are acquitted, and the party that challeng'd them and put them to the trial of the red-water, is oblig'd to make large reparation for the ſcandal and wound given their reputation; of which we had one inſtance, for one of the meaner negroes that came to our tents to trade, pretended that ſome of our ſeamen belonging to the boats, had ſtoll'n from him a large bag of rice, whereof he made his complaint to king *Andreo*, and he came and acquainted us therewith, requiring reſtitution with much earneſtneſs and diſſatisfaction; we immediately call'd all our ſeamen that were aſhore together, charg'd them with the theft, and requir'd them upon their peril to bring back the rice, uſing ſevere threats to ſuch as we ſhould, upon ſearch, find guilty, and which we were firmly reſolv'd to execute, and to have made the criminal a publick example before the negroes, to ſhew them how much we abhorr'd ſuch practices; but all our men abſolutely and firmly declar'd their innocence as to the thievery, which we did acquaint the king with, but he began to be angry, telling us that his ſubjects ſhould not be robb'd, and requiring ſatisfaction of us; at length finding that the more we endeavour'd to appeaſe and convince him, the more inſolent he grew, made us reſolve to maſk ourſelves in his humour, and to ſhew him we knew how to huff as well as his majeſty; wherefore immediately ordering our men to take their guns in hand, agent *Colker* (who knew the cuſtom of the country) ſhook his cane at him, and requir'd him inſtantly to bring red-water, and that we and all our men would drink it for proof of our innocency, and that if we thereby were found ſo, that he upon his peril ſhould provide to make us large amends for the injury done us. No ſooner he heard this, and ſaw us all ſo reſolute to drink it, (as he thought) but the ſcene was chang'd, and he became very humble and ſubmiſſive, telling us the man that charg'd our men with it was a villain, and that he would have him puniſh'd, and baniſh'd him immediately from our tents; ſo much did the apprehenſion of our being clear'd by the red-water, and the reparation he muſt then make, work upon king *Andreo*, tho' in reality had he had the courage and conſtancy to put us to the teſt, none of us did intend to experiment the virtues and qualities of his red juices. While I was at king *Andreo*'s town, there came one of the inland kings to the ſide of the council room where we were; he was of a large ſtature, and had a manly look and good features, and indeed was the moſt majeſtick handſome negroe that I ever ſaw, (except the king of *Saboo*) tho' he was very old, and his hair and beard as grey as a rat. His head was cover'd with above a hundred little horns, about an inch in length, tied to his hair, and fitted with ſome red compoſition, or paſte, which was his *fatiſh* or god to protect him from evil, of which ſort of *fatiſh* I ſhall write more at large hereafter. I eyed him from the beginning, being much pleas'd with his venerable countenance, but little thought him of that quality, by reaſon *Andreo*, and his nobles took no notice of him; about an hour after he came, I enquir'd who he was, and being told he was a great inland king, I was much ſurpriz'd at the ill manners of his brother king *Andreo*, to let him ſtand ſo long without, unregarded, and deſir'd him to invite him in; but finding him backward in doing it, I went my ſelf, tho' I could not perſwade him to come up to us, therefore I had a bowl of punch brought where he was, of which he drank very freely, till he ſaw the bottom; I would have had another made for him, but could not perſuade him to ſtay, having a long way home; he preſented me with a good leopard's skin, worth 3 or 4 *l.* in *England*, and I him with 3 or 4 bottles of rum, and as many handfuls of cowries, and ſo we parted very friendly; but there was not the leaſt ceremony between king *Andreo* and him, being, as I ſince underſtood, on no good terms with each other: We found a *Scotchman* among the natives here, who could give us no account of himſelf, but that he was ſhipwreck'd near the cape, and the only man eſcap'd drowning, tho' I ſuſpected then he was a rogue, and pyrate; and ſince I have underſtood he belong'd to a pyrate, a ſmall brigantine, commanded by one *Herbert*, which they had run away with from ſome of the plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*, and were juſt arriv'd upon this coaſt to look for purchaſe, when there fell a diſſention and quarrel among the crew, which prov'd ſo bloody, that in the conflict ſo many of the men were ſlain and deſperately wounded, that there were none left but this fellow that could any ways manage the veſſel, ſo he run her aſhore to the S. E. of the cape, and ſaved his life, the reſt dying of their wounds: he had a long flaxen wig, and white beaver hat, and other good cloaths on; he offer'd me his ſervice as a ſailor, but he had ſo much of a villain in his face, that Capt. *Shurley* nor myſelf did not care to meddle with him, ſo that agent *Colker* took him with him in the *Stanier* ſloop to *Sherborow*. We kept *Chriſtmas* day as merrily as we could; in honour to which each ſhip fir'd all her guns round: The

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PHILLIPS. Decemb. 1693. 28th came in here Capt. *John Soans*, in the *Jeffrey*, and having ſupply'd himſelf with ſome wood, water, and rice, ſet ſail again for the *Bight*, on *Thurſday* the 3d of *Jan.* having left with me a packet of letters directed for Sir *Jeffrey Jeffreys*, to be forwarded to *Europe*, with the firſt conveniency. Agent *Colker*, ſet ſail for *Sherberow*, on the 5th, and *Gubbins* in the *Barbadoes* interloper, the ſame morning for the gold coaſt, by whom I ſent letters to the *African* companies three chief merchants at *Cabo Corce* caſtle, ſignifying my agreement with the company to ſlave upon the gold coaſt, and beſpeaking their diligence in procuring what numbers they could for me againſt my arrival there, with what elſe was needful: I was forced to ſtay here ten days after I had compleated my buſineſs for Capt. *Shurley* to refit his ſhip, which at length being done, we both ſet ſail with the morning breeze, on the 9th of *Jan.* $169\frac{3}{4}$ for the coaſt: The negroes of this place, expreſs'd a great affection for the *Engliſh*, and as much hatred to the *French*; two of them took Capt. *Shurley*'s and my name, aſſuring us their next ſons ſhould be call'd ſo.

January 1693-4. *Wedneſday* the 10th. This morning about 3 o'clock we got under ſail, with the morning breeze, ſteering S. W. till we got well without the cape; then S. and ſo to S. E. At noon this day cape *Monſeradoe* bore off us N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. diſtant five leagues. Laſt night Capt. *Thomas Shurley* was taken ill of a fever and ague.

Thurſday the 11th. From noon yeſterday, until 4 in the evening, had a freſh ſea breeze at S. W. ſteering S. E. along ſhore; at 4 cape *Monſeradoe* being juſt diſcernable and ſeeming like an iſland, bore off us N. N. W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. diſtant 8 leagues; at which time heaving the lead, had 32 fathom water, ſandy ground; the high hills over the river of *Junco* bearing then E. N. E. The river of *Junco* is about 14 leagues from cape *Monſeradoe*, and lies in the latitude $5^{\circ}\ 55'$ N.; there are three great high trees near the mouth of it, and ſeveral high hills up in the inland; the river is large, as I have been told, and a very convenient place to wood and water: Having lain by ſome time for the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, which was aſtern, we ſteer'd both S. E. by E. all night, with a very ſmall gale: At 8 this morning had 25 fathom water, being about 3 leagues off the ſhore, which is pretty high and level, and full of trees, only far in the inland; when we were about 20 leagues from cape *Monſeradoe*, we ſaw a high mountain, making in the form of a ſaddle, and bearing then off us N. E. This morning had many heavy ſhowers of rain, and my poor brother and ſeveral of my men fell ſick of fevers. Since noon yeſterday we ſail'd S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. 20 leagues.

Friday the 12th. From noon yeſterday we ſteer'd S. E. by E. and E. S. E. along ſhore, keeping about 2 leagues off till 6 in the evening it falling calm, we came to an anchor in 13 fathom water, off of *Picinini Setre*, or little *Seſtos*; the round hill right over the river *Grand Seſtos*, about a mile within the point, and the 3 rocks about 4 miles to the weſt of the ſaid point, being in one, bore off us E. S. E. 3 leagues off; the outer point of *Seſtos* S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. 5 leagues off. The coaſt along is full of trees and pretty high, till you come towards *Seſtos*, then it ſlopes away lower towards the point: ſeveral canoes came aboard us laſt night to invite us to anchor at *Seſtos*, promiſing us a good trade of teeth, *&c.* we hoiſted their canoes in, and they ſtaid all night with us; at 6 this morning we weigh'd and ſtood out into 20 fathom, then along ſhore with a faint little gale; ſeveral canoes with 2 negroes coming aboard us, but brought nothing with them but a few fowls, oranges, bananas, and ſome little elephants teeth, which they would not ſell without having more for them than they were worth. *Little Seſtos.*

Saturday the 13th. From noon yeſterday we made eaſy ſail along ſhore till 4 in the evening, when being off the river of *Seſtos*, we came to an anchor in 9 fathom water, the three rocks, which are about a mile off ſhore to the W. of the river, bearing off us N. N. W. diſtance 2 miles; cape *Baxos*, or the eaſt point of *Seſtos*, which is very low and rocky, bearing S. E. by E. 3 miles off; the mouth of the river, and the hill above it being in one, bore E. by S. 4 miles diſtance; the outer point of land which I could ſee to the W. bore N. W. 6 leagues off. This morning I went aſhore in my pinnace with ſome goods to trade, and Capt. *Shurley* ſent his with his purſer in her, being ſo ill that he could not go himſelf.

The going into the river is between the point on the ſtarboard or E. ſhore, and the rock in the middle of the river; the entrance is about half a cable's length wide, and there are 6, 7, and 8 fathom going in: when you are enter'd, you'll find it a fine large river, where a veſſel of 100 tons may ride very ſafe, as I have been told there often have brigantines and ſloops. About gun-ſhot from the aforeſaid point, upon the ſame ſhore, cloſe to the river ſide, is a well of good freſh water, where for a few cowries, and giving them buckets, the negro women will bring water and fill your cask in the boat, as they did ours; and if you give the negro men hatchets, for a ſmall quantity of the aforeſaid ſhells, *River of Seſtos.*

they

they will cut you fire-wood enough, and bring it to the boats; but they muſt have a bottle of brandy now and then among them to encourage them: ſo that for expedition this is the beſt place along the whole coaſt to wood and water at. On the point going into the river, about a cable's length from it, is a negroe town of about 30 or 40 houſes, the captain of which is *Dick Lumley*, as he calls himſelf, having taken that name from captain *Lumley*, an old commander that us'd the *Guiney* trade formerly.

About eight miles up the river is the town where king *Peter* their monarch lives; but I could not ſpare time to go and viſit him, and in truth had no great inclination to venture ſo far in a boat, having been inform'd that the negroes here are very treacherous and bloody, as ſome of our *European* traders have found to their coſt. The goods in demand here are braſs kettles, pewter baſons of ſeveral ſizes, booges or cowries, fuzees, *Welſh* plains red and blue, knives, *&c.* ſome of each of which we carried aſhore; but they had nothing to traffick with us for them, except a few little calves teeth (for ſo they call the young elephants) which were not worth our notice, and which they held very dear. We bought ſome hens, limes, and oranges; were offer'd ſome rice, but much dearer than we bought at *Mounſeradoe* where we had ſupply'd our ſelves. While I was looking for trade in the town, our men hal'd the ſayne in the river, and caught a great many good fiſh. Their way of welcoming and ſaluting here as well as at *Mounſeradoe*, is by taking one's thumb and fore-finger between their thumb and fore-finger, and making them ſnap, in the mean time crying *Acky O! Acky O!* The people here are very ſurly, and look like villains, ſo that I was ſoon weary of their company, and went aboard about four o'clock in the evening, we ſtanding all to our guns till we were got out of the river, and ſome diſtance from the ſhore; for they came down, a little before we went off, in ſuch numbers with bows and lances, that we were in apprehenſion of ſome villainy intended us, which haſten'd our departure, contrary to their earneſt intreaties; but they offer'd nothing of harm to us. I ſounded the road all over, which I found to be good and clean ground, and gradual ſoundings, ſo that you may anchor any where therein; but the beſt anchoring is in 9 fathom water, the mouth of the river bearing E. by S. The diſtance between cape *Mounſeradoe* and the river of *Seſtos* is about 36 leagues. The hill upon the eaſt point above the river of *Seſtos* is very remarkable to know it by, there being no other ſuch hill in fifteen leagues of it. PHILLIPS. January, 1694.

Sunday the 14th. Finding no trade to encourage our ſtay at *Seſtos*, we got up our ſtream-anchor this morning, and ſet ſail with a ſmall gale at W. we ſtanding out S. to give a birth to cape *Baxos*; off which lies a ledge of rocks two leagues or more into the ſea; but we met with ſo ſtrong a current ſetting to the S. E. that by noon this day it put us three leagues to the E. of cape *Baxos*, which at that time bore N. of us, diſtant three leagues, and the point of *Baffo* E. S. E. five leauges, and then were in twenty-ſix fathom water. About three leagues from *Seſtos* point we ſaw a great white rock making like a ſail, and about two leagues from that, another rock, from which to *Sanguin* is about five leagues. *Sanguin* makes in a heap of high trees, there being, no doubt, land between *Seſtos* and it; but the coaſt between them is all rocky under twenty fathom water, ſo that there is no anchoring in leſs than twenty-five fathom water, in which depth there is oozy ground.

Monday the 15th. From noon yeſterday we ſteer'd along ſhore S. E. and S. E. by E. till two in the evening, at which time came ſeveral canoes aboard us from *Sanguin* river, where the *Grain* or *Malagetta* coaſt begins, but they brought nothing with them; wherefore we continued on our courſe along ſhore till ſix: we let go our anchor in thirty-ſix fathom water off of *Battowa*, where the land grows higher than between it and *Sanguin*. Here trying the current, found it ſet three miles in an hour to the ſoutheaſtward. At ſix in the morning we weigh'd, having much rain for above an hour. At ten we were off the river *Sino*, about twelve leagues from *Sanguin*, which is eaſily known by a tree making like a ſhip with a top-ſail looſe; from whence came ſeveral canoes aboard us with pepper, or, as they call it, *Malagetta*, which is much like our *Indian* pepper, and, for ought I know, as good. It was brought in ozier baſkets. I bought 1000 weight of it at one iron bar (value in *England* three ſhillings and ſixpence) and a daſhy of a knife or two to the broker. The reaſon of our buying this pepper is to give our negroes in their meſſes to keep them from the flux and dry belly-ach, which they are very incident to. About noon this day were off *Croe*, ſteering away S. E. by E. for cape *Palmas*.

Tueſday the 16th. From noon yeſterday we have had but little wind, ſteering S. E. by E. At noon this day we were

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were off of *Wappo*, whence came off to us more canoes with *Malagetta* to ſell, of which I bought three hundred weight for three two-pound pewter baſons. We might have bought much more, but having enough for our purpoſe, we turn'd them aſhore, and purſu'd our courſe.

Wedneſday the 17th. Theſe twenty-four hours we had a fine moderate gale of wind, and a very ſtrong current ſetting to the S. E. which about noon this day carry'd us to the E. of cape *Palmas*, to which we gave a large birth by reaſon of rocks that lie far out from it. It is the laſt place of the *Grain* coaſt, there being no more *Malagetta* to be had when paſt it. Yeſterday my poor brother grew very ill and delirious; and notwithſtanding all the endeavours us'd by my own and captain *Shurley*'s doctor for his recovery, about three in the evening this day he took his leave of this troubleſome world, and left me full of affliction for the loſs of him. He had been ſick of a malignant fever about eight days, and many of my men lay ill of the ſame diſtemper.

Thurſday, *January* the 18th. Having yeſterday doubled cape *Palmas*, about five in the evening we came to an anchor in nineteen fathom water, where we rode till ſix this morning. We got under ſail, when the coffin being ready, the deceas'd was nail'd up therein; and our pinnace being hoiſted out, he was lower'd into her, and myſelf, my doctor and purſer went in her to bury him, the colours of our own ſhip and *Eaſt India merchant* being lower'd half-maſt down, our trumpets and drums ſounding and beating, as is cuſtomary upon ſuch melancholy occaſions. We row'd the corpſe about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the ſhip to ſeaward; and the prayers of the church being read, I help'd to commit his body to the deep, which was the laſt office lay in my power to do for my dear brother. Then the *Hannibal* fired ſixteen guns at $\frac{1}{2}$ minute diſtance of time, which was the number of years he had liv'd in this uncertain world; and the *Eaſt India merchant* fir'd ten guns. He was buried in twenty-five fathom water, off of *Growa*, which then bore N. W. diſtant three leagues, and about ten leagues to the E. of cape *des Palmas*: near which cape the land is high and hummocky; and you may eaſily diſcern when you are about the cape, by the land's falling away to the northward.

Friday the 19th. From noon yeſterday we kept under ſail till five in the evening, when we let go our anchor in twenty-three fathom ſoft ground; then had a very hard tornado which laſted about an hour. About ſix this morning we weigh'd, and ſtood along ſhore till noon. Yeſterday in the evening came two canoes off near our ſhip with ſeveral teeth; but no perſuaſion we could uſe could prevail upon them to come aboard and trade with us, tho' we ſhew'd them divers ſorts of commodities, and offer'd them brandy; but all would not do, ſo that they return'd aſhore again. As we ſail'd along about twenty leagues from cape *Palmas*, we ſaw ſeveral points of land like the going in of rivers; no ſooner we open'd one point, but we ſhut in another.

Saturday the 20th. From twelve o'clock yeſterday we ſteer'd along ſhore till ſix in the evening, when we had a hard tornado, with dreadful lightning and thunder, which laſted till ſeven; at which time we came to an anchor in ſixteen fathom water off of *Druin*, which is about thirty leagues from cape *Palmas*, and about ten leagues to the eaſt of the afore-mentioned points. It may be eaſily known by great buſhy trees, there being none ſuch between it and cape *Palmas*. In the night we ſaw two fires made aſhore, which are common along this coaſt where they have goods to trade, being ſigns for ſhips that paſs along to ſtop to traffique with them. *Druin* may alſo be known by a high long tract of land in the inland, the land near the ſea ſhore being low and white ſand. About ſix in the morning we got under ſail, ſteering E. and E. by N. with ſmall gales at W. S. W. At ten this morning we ſaw the red cliffs, being about eight leagues from *Druin*; and at noon this day were abreaſt the firſt. They are eaſily known by their colour. They are eleven in number, not very high, and moſt about a cable's length aſunder. We have had no canoes come aboard of us ſince we have come about cape *Palmas*, tho' we anchor'd every night that we might not paſs by unſeen; and ſteer'd cloſe along ſhore with a fore-topſail in the day.

Sunday the 21. From noon yeſterday we ſteer'd E. and E. by N. along ſhore, with an eaſy gale at W. S. W. until twelve at night; we anchor'd in ſixteen fathom good ſoft ground. At ſix we weigh'd anchor, and ſtood along to the eaſt. At eight were abreaſt a very low ſwamp in the land, that is *Coetre*; and a little further is a parting in the land like the going in of a river; a league from which is *Caba-la-ho*, there being no other ſwamp between it and the red cliffs. About ten came two canoes aboard us from *Caba-la-ho*, and were follow'd by ſeveral others with ſtore of good teeth, which invited

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us to come to an anchor; but ere the negroes in the canoes would come aboard, they requir'd that the captain of the ſhip ſhould come down the out ſide of the ſhip, and drop three drops of the ſea water into his eye, as a pledge of friendſhip, and of ſafety for them to come aboard; which I very readily conſented to and perform'd, in hopes of a good market for their large fair teeth, which I had a longing deſire to purchaſe. Then they came aboard, but ſeeing ſo many men on deck, were miſtruſtful, and went into their canoes again. I was much concern'd at their fearfulneſs, and with much perſwaſion prevail'd on them to return, which they did; and having given each that came in a good coge of brandy, I ſhew'd them ſome of my commodities, and they brought in ſome teeth: and while we were buſy on both ſides a bartering, a great maſtiff dog we had aboard, hearing a noiſe upon deck, run open mouth'd barking out of the ſteerage. Aſſoon as they heard and ſaw the dog, to my great ſurprize, they in an inſtant leapt off the quarter deck into the ſea, and ſwam a diſtance off, their canoes following them, and left their elephants teeth behind them. We intreated them to come aboard, holding their teeth over the ſhip's ſide to them, but they would not return. I went down and dropt ſome more water into my eyes, but to as little purpoſe; then I made the maſtiff dog be brought in their ſight, and pretended to beat him ſtoutly; upon which they came aboard again, but we might read their jealouſy and fear in their faces; for there could nothing ſtir but they were ready to take their ſpring into the ſea, and had their eyes in every corner: however, in their traffique they were ſubtile enough, holding their teeth ſo high, that we could not afford to buy many, without giving more than the value for them. They moſt hideouſly deform themſelves with a ſort of dark reddiſh paint, with which they daub their bodies in ſundry places. They pleat ſome flax to their hair, and ſo make a ſort of ſmall ſinnet from each lock, which hangs down to their ſhoulders; and ſome tie them up in a roll behind, as our women do their hair; and others on the top of their heads. I was aſtoniſh'd when firſt they came near the ſhip, to hear no other ſpeech come from them but *Qua, Qua, Qua, Qua*, like a parcel of ducks; from which I preſume this teeth coaſt hath had the appellation of *Quaquaa* coaſt, it reaching from cape *Palmas* to *Baſſam Picolo*, where was the firſt gold I met with. The negroes of theſe parts are call'd the *Man-eaters*, and *Man-eaters.* that they eat their enemies they take priſoners, and their own friends when dead, as I was told by my old mate captain *Robſon*, who had long uſed this *Guiney* voyage. How true that is I know not; but in truth their looks are very ſavage and voracious; and all their teeth, I obſerved, are pointed at the ends as ſharp as bodkins, which looks very terrible: and without doubt they reduce them ſo by art and filing them; for 'tis impoſſible they ſhould be ſo naturally more than their neighbour negroes. They are well limb'd, and ſtrong men, but the moſt hideous in their aſpect of any negroes I have met with. Each canoe brought a broker with him, who, aſſoon as he enters the ſhip, demands a daſhy of a knife or two, for he pretends to bring the trade to you; and every bargain we concluded he expects a daſhy, it being, I ſuppoſe, his brokerage, the merchant allowing him nothing: and about theſe daſhies they are ſo importunate, that, for our quiet, we are forc'd to give them. I have no where upon the coaſt met the negroes ſo ſhy as here, which makes me fancy they have had tricks play'd them by ſuch blades as *Long Ben*, alias *Avery*, who have ſeiz'd them and carry'd them away. The goods they moſt covet are pewter baſons, the larger the better, iron bars, knives, and large ſcrew'd pewter jugs, which they did much affect.

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Monday the 22d. About three in the evening yeſterday our merchants went aſhore, aſſuring us, if we would ſtay till next day, we ſhould have abundance of teeth off cheap. Upon which encouragement we ſtaid here all night at anchor in fifteen fathom water; but at eleven this morning, ſeeing no canoes come off, we weigh'd and ſtood along ſhore till noon.

Thurſday the 23d. Yeſterday about one in the evening, ſtanding along ſhore, we deſcried three canoes making off to us from *Pikinini-la-ho*, which is about ſix leagues to the E. of *Caba la-ho*. We laid our fore-topſails to the maſt to wait for them. One went aboard captain *Shurley*, and the other two came to us with divers good teeth, of which we bought ſome, but very dear, they coveting the ſame ſort of goods as at *Caba-la-ho*. We lay by trafficking with them till four in the evening; then they went away, and we made ſail till ſeven, when we let go our anchors in thirty-ſix fathom water, it deepning much ſuddenly. At ſix in the morning we weigh'd, and ſtood along ſhore to the E. This was the laſt place I ſaw any teeth; and I obſerv'd every where they brought teeth to us, that they would

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would ſell none but the ſmall ones and middling ones, tho' they brought very noble large ones with them for ſhew; but no price would tempt them to diſpoſe of them.

Wedneſday the 24th. From twelve yeſterday we made an eaſy ſail along ſhore till ſeven in the evening, when we anchor'd in thirty-ſix fathom water, and lay there becalm'd till noon this day.

Thurſday the 25th. Theſe twenty-four hours we lay at the ſame place becalm'd. At two in the evening yeſterday came off to us two canoes from *Baſſam Picolo* to trade with gold; of which we took thirty achies for iron bars, two bars for three achies, each achy being about five ſhillings value. But of the weights, *&c.* on the gold coaſt, I ſhall write hereafter. The gold we took here was all in fatiſhes, which are ſmall pieces wrought in many pretty figures, which the blacks tie to their hair, necks, arms, legs, *&c.* for ornament, and are generally very good gold. Duſt nor rock I ſaw none here nor at *Baſſam*.

Friday the 26th. About two in the evening yeſterday, having the ſea breeſe, we weigh'd and ſtood to the E. About four a canoe came aboard captain *Shurley*, promiſing, if we anchor'd where we were until the morning, they would bring off divers ſlaves to ſell; ſo that at five we came to an anchor again in twenty-nine fathom water, where we rode till noon this day; but no canoes came off.

Saturday the 27th. At two in the evening yeſterday we got up our anchors, and ſail'd along ſhore until ſix, when came a four-hand canoe aboard us from *Baſſam*, aſſuring us of good trade of gold and ſlaves in the morning, if we would anchor, and that they would ſtay with us all night, which we permitted them, hoiſting up their canoe in the tackles, and let go our anchors in fourteen fathom water. In the morning thoſe aboard fell to trade, of whom I took thirty-ſix achies of gold in fatiſhes for pewter and iron bars.

Sunday the 28th. The negroes yeſterday promis'd us a good trade this day if we ſtay'd. Accordingly this morning came aboard of me two canoes, of which I took ſixteen ounces of gold in fatiſhes, for iron bars, pewter, and knives, *viz.* for one iron bar 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ achy, for a dozen of knives one achy, for a four-pound pewter baſon one achy, with ſeveral knives for daſhes to thoſe that traded briſkly. Here the negroes are not ſo well ſkill'd in trade as upon the gold coaſt; for we could put the bank-weights upon them; but to leeward on the gold coaſt, they know our *Troy*-weights as well as our ſelves, and have weights of their own, which they compare ours with. Likewiſe at this place goods yield a better price than among our factories to leeward, by reaſon that here they can't ſupply themſelves at all times as they can there; therefore when they have an opportunity of ſhips paſſing by, they buy what they want, tho' they give a better price for it; but they have but ſmall quantities of gold to trade with.

Monday the 28th. Yeſterday about two in the afternoon, the negroes having no more gold to trade with, took their leave and went aſhore; then we got under ſail, and ſtood to the E. till ſeven, then came to an anchor in thirteen fathom water, where we lay till ſix this morning; then weigh'd and ſtood along ſhore till ten; the wind dying away, and the ſea heaving us too near the ſhore, we were forc'd to anchor in twelve fathom. My men are moſt on the recovery, having loſt none by ſickneſs, except my poor brother; but Capt. *Shurley* has had eight dead, and himſelf with moſt of his remaining men are very ill. We have a ſtrong current now ſetting to the W. which is very unuſual on this coaſt. The land all along is full of trees.

Tueſday the 29th. At two in the evening yeſterday we weigh'd, and it proving little wind, the ſea hove us into 11 fathom water, ſo that were forc'd to anchor again, where lay till morning; then having ſmall land breezes, got under ſail, and ſtood off into 15 fathom, and then along ſhore till 10; it falling calm we anchor'd again.

Wedneſday the 30th. At noon yeſterday we had the ſea-breeze, with which we ſtood along ſhore S. E. and S. E. by E. till 6; it fell calm, and we anchor'd in 14 fathom till morning, when weigh'd again, and ſtood along ſhore. Laſt night I was taken with a violent racking pain the right ſide of my head; and Capt. *Shurley* being very ill of a fever, ſent for Mr. *Gordon*, my doctor, to have his advice.

From *Wedneſday* to *Monday* the 4th of *February*. At noon yeſterday we anchor'd in 15 fathom, being becalm'd; at night came over us a very thick fog, which continu'd increaſing all this day, and ſo till the 4th of *February* without intermiſſion, the weather being moſt intenſely hot, without a breath of wind ſcarcely, and the current ſetting above two miles an hour to windward, and has continu'd to ſet ſo to the W. theſe ten days, and what ſmall faint breezes we had were at E. S. E. and S. S. E. The thick fog of ſo long continuance, the violent heat, and eaſtern breezes, made us very much concern'd, leſt it ſhould occaſion malignant diſtempers among

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among us, it being what is not very uſual upon the coaſt. About one a-clock on *Saturday* in the afternoon came a ſhip with the current and ſmall gale at E. cloſe upon us ere we ſpy'd her; but at firſt ſight we ſaluted her with a ſhot thwart her fore foot to come to an anchor, which he not taking notice of, we fired two more into him, upon which he let run his top-ſails upon the caps, and let go his anchor, and ſo eſcap'd the reſt of our broadſide, which were ready planted for him, with our top-ſails looſe, ready to cut our cable, had he prov'd a *Frenchman* (as we by his white paint and built took him to be.) A-ſtern of us lay the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, ready to fire what they could at him, but ſo many of her men were ſick, that they could not have manag'd four guns. Being anchor'd he ſent his boat aboard us, with a private commiſſion from king *William*, whereby he appear'd to be a *Dutch* privateer, tho' a trader upon the coaſt, where he had been above nine months up and down without being able to diſpoſe of all his cargo; he was lately come from *Angola*; the Captain's name was *William Fleming*, the maſter's name *Stephen Waterman*, the ſhip's name *Jacob Hendrick*; ſhe had 16 guns and 42 men; the Capt. was ſick; they adviſ'd us, that Capt. *Gubbins* and his doctor in the *Barbadoes-Interloper* were dead; that the country was all in wars; that there was little gold upon the coaſt, by reaſon the negro-traders could not bring it down in ſafety, the paſſages and roads being ſtopt; and that the negroes had taken the *Danes* fort at *Accra*, kill'd one of the factors, and much wounded the other. Having lain about two hours with us, he ſet ſail, and ſtood to the W. ſaluting each of us with three guns, which compliment we return'd. On *Sunday* the pain in my head increas'd, and I was taken with a dimneſs in my eyes, that I could not ſee ten yards off, and a dizzineſs in my head, that I could not ſtand nor walk without aſſiſtance.

From *Monday* the 4th to *Wedneſday* the 6th we lay at anchor in the ſame place, with the uncomfortable fog ſtill continuing, but the windward current much abated, and the breezes began to reaſſume their old place at S.W. and to blow pretty freſh, which prompted us to hope for clear weather to proceed upon our voyage. About eight a-clock on *Wedneſday* morning we heard ſeveral guns fired, whereupon order'd good look-outs to windward. The fog being much diſpell'd at that time, about ten we ſpy'd a ſhip with all ſails ſet coming upon us before the wind, of which gave notice to Capt. *Shurley*, by firing a gun, and immediately got our ſhip clear for fight, and our gun-room guns out, and being every way ready, got under ſail and ſtood towards him; he ſtanding right with me, I laid my fore-top-ſail to the maſt to ſtay for him; when he came within gun-ſhot I fired one at him, whereupon he hoiſted *Dutch* colours, on view of which we forbore firing any more; he ſtood cloſe under our ſterns and gave each of us five guns and three huzzas, which we return'd; I ſent my boat and a mate on board him, to whom he gave an account that he belong'd to the *Weſt-India* company of the *Dutch* at *Amſterdam*, and was bound to the *Mine*; that he had been ſtopt five months at *Plymouth*, and had been in his paſſage thence nine weeks; that he had fought a *French* privateer 50 leagues from *Scilly*; and that the earl of *Torrington* was fled from *England*. The laſt we did not doubt but was *Dutch* news, who have no great kindneſs for that old experienc'd and gallant ſea-officer, ſince thro' their own raſhneſs and ſtupidity they were ſo roughly handled by the *French* fleet off of *Beachy* in 1690. This ſhip had 24 guns and 80 men, ſeamen and ſoldiers; he made all the way he could to the eaſtward, and we ſtood ſo till ſix in the evening, when judging our ſelves off of *Aſthany*, we handed our ſails and anchor'd in 12 fathom water. The guns we heard in the morning were fired by this laſt ſhip at the *Dutch* interloper that parted from us before, who he fell in with and gave chace to, but the interloper ſail'd too hard for him. Here were above a dozen *Dutch* interlopers at this time trading upon the coaſt, notwithſtanding all the *Dutch* are prohibited that trade, except the ſhips belonging to their *Guiney* company, who have orders to fight and take by force of arms the ſaid interlopers where-ever they meet them upon the coaſt, who upon ſuch capture become as much prize as any declar'd enemy, the ſhip and goods being confiſcated to the uſe of the ſaid company, and the men made priſoners in the dungeon at the *Mine*; and, if I miſtake not, the captain and other principal officers condemn'd to die, the general of the *Mine* being commiſſion'd and impower'd to try, condemn, and put to death any criminals of that nation, which by a court-martial ſhall be thought to deſerve it, without any appeal to *Europe*; which authority he alſo extends to the neighbouring negroes, eſpecially thoſe of the *Mine*-town, that are under the cover of its guns, which creates a great reverence and terror in them; whereas our agents can only ſecure the moſt heinous malefactor, and ſend him in irons home to *England* to be try'd, and receive the reward of his villany. The *Dutch* caſtles have frequently by ſtratagem

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ſeiz'd ſome of theſe interlopers, and us'd them with the utmoſt rigour, yet it does no whit deter them, they providing themſelves with nimble ſhips, which out-ſail the company's, and go well mann'd and arm'd, ſo that if at any time they be ſurpriz'd or overtaken, they will fight it out to the laſt man rather than yield, and both under *Dutch* colours; I have ſeen 3 or 4 at a time of them lying before the *Mine*-caſtle for a week together a trading, as it were in defiance of it.

Thurſday the 7th we lay off of *Aſthany*, expecting trade, till the 10th, and ſaw many canoes paſſing along ſhore under a mat-ſail, but none came off to us. From *Baſſam* to *Aſthany* is about 12 leagues; the beſt ſailing is in 17 to 18 fathom, and anchor in 13 or 14 fathom, oozy ground: there appears no double land between theſe two places till you are about five leagues to the E. of *Baſſam*, then you will ſee 3 or 4 parcels, which ſhew themſelves as you ſail in the above depth a little higher than the other land.

The town of *Aſthany* ſtands in a ſwamp or bog, there being no other ſwamp between *Baſſam* and it. Here having no encouragement to ſtay longer, we got up our anchors, and ſtood for cape *Apollonia* the 10th in the evening, which is about 16 leagues from *Aſthany*, and makes in three ſmall hills; where we arriv'd the 12th, and anchor'd in 15 fathom oozy ground, about 3 miles ſhort of the cape; thereby intending to have the benefit of trading with two or three towns which lie a little to the W. of it; but our expectations were diſappointed, for not one canoe came off to us here more than at *Aſthany*, which ſomewhat ſurprized us, thoſe two places being formerly noted for plenty of gold, very good, and a quick and beneficial market.

Wedneſday the 13th in the morning we got under ſail, and having doubled cape *Apollonia*, in the evening we came to an anchor at *Axem* in 8 fathom water, about 2 miles from the *Dutch* fort. This place is about 10 leagues from the cape. The 14th the *Dutch* factor Mr. *Rawliſſon* came aboard us to enquire news from *Europe*, and having told him all we could remember, he ſtay'd to dine with us; and after dinner we found him to be a boon companion, taking his glaſs off ſmartly, and ſinging and dancing by himſelf ſeveral jiggs, Capt. *Shurley* and I being indiſpos'd, and in no dancing humour; I was glad to ſee he could be ſo cheerful that had liv'd ſo many years in ſuch a diſmal country; but his mirth was ſuddenly dampt, upon ſight of a great twelve-hand canoe with a flag in it making from the eaſtward towards our ſhips: I was much ſurpriz'd to ſee ſo ſudden and extraordinary a change in him, his countenance appearing full of terror and confuſion; I often ask'd him what was the cauſe of his concern, and offer'd to fire upon the canoe, and command her aboard, if he apprehended any thing amiſs from her, and to that end preſently gave the word for the gunner; but he earneſtly intreated me to forbear, and immediately leap'd into a ſmall canoe that was ſelling fiſh by the ſhip's ſide to our ſeamen (his own being gone aſhore with butter and other ſmall matters he had purchas'd aboard us) and ſquatting himſelf down in her flat upon his belly, made the canoe men row away to the weſt with all the force they could; and having taken a large compaſs, landed about a quarter of a mile from the caſtle. I could not then conceive the reaſon of his conſternation and abrupt departure, but after I underſtood it proceeded from his fear that the great canoe was from the *Mine*-caſtle, with the fiſcal in her, who is a very conſiderable officer in the *Dutch* factories, whoſe buſineſs is to ſuperviſe and inſpect all the caſtles the *Dutch* have upon this coaſt; to obſerve what government is kept in them, and how the *Dutch* company's affairs are manag'd, and to ſearch if there be any goods or merchandize in them beſides what belongs to the company, which the factors or governors often clandeſtinely buy of interlopers and *Engliſh* ſhips, and trade with upon their own account, to the great prejudice of the company their maſters, whoſe goods in the mean time lie on hand for want of ſale, while they carry on their own private traffick, contrary to their oath and covenant; therefore this fiſcal uſes all the ſtratagems he can deviſe to ſurprize the caſtles unawares, and when he is leaſt expected, that the factors may not have time to ſettle and put things in order, or convey their goods where they may lie conceal'd; therefore he moſt commonly makes uſe of the night-time, and lands by break of day, and immediately plants his men at the gates, and other convenient poſts, to watch that nothing be convey'd away or hidden; then he ſearches all the caſtle over with as much ſubtlety and rigour as the ſevereſt old ſearcher belonging to our cuſtom-houſe in *London*, that will not be brib'd (if there be any ſuch) does a rich *Eaſt-India* ſhip, taking account of all the goods in his way; and if he finds any more in quantity or quality than by the factor's invoice and account of ſales there ſhould be of the company's, he takes them away with him, and poſſibly ſeizes upon all the gold the factor has for the company's uſe, and carries himſelf to the *Mine*, where

Axem.

where he is impriſon'd; and the gentleſt uſage the factors meet with upon ſuch diſcovery, is to be well mulcted or fined, and be forc'd to carry a musket in the *Mine*-caſtle like a common centinel, another being ſubſtituted in his government; and the ſame in caſe of being found remiſs in the duties of their poſt, and negligent in the governments of their caſtles, ſuch as lying a-nights out of them, or letting black women lie a-nights in them; the laſt of which, tho' it be a common practice in our caſtles, yet the *Dutch* ſeldom or never do it, though they all have black or *Malatto* wives as well as ours, which they change at pleaſure. For the above reaſons the fiſcal is ſo dreadful to them; and 'twas the panick fear of him that ſo diſturb'd poor *Rawliſſon*. The great canoe ſoon came aboard us, in which was *Frank*, the butler of *Cape-Coaſt* caſtle, ſent by our agents there to fetch from us the company's letters and packets, together with the factors we had on board for the caſtles: In their way they call'd on Mr. *Buckerige*, who was chief of *Dicky*'s cove, and came along with them to us. By this canoe I receiv'd a letter from our agents, adviſing me to diſpoſe of as much as I could of my cargo before I came there, where there was no trade nor gold, by reaſon the country was all in wars; and that there was no probability of procuring any number of ſlaves upon the gold coaſt.

The *Dutch* factor *Rawliſſon*, ſome time after he got aſhore, ſent out a canoe a ſcouting, by which underſtanding his miſtake, he baniſh'd his fear, and reſolv'd to have t'other jigg with us; and accordingly we ſoon had him aboard, where he continu'd till late at night, and was carry'd aſhore well ballaſted with wine and punch; but before he would part, engag'd Mr. *Buckerige*, Capt. *Shurley* and me to dine with him next day at his fort, which we promis'd, more out of an inclination we had to ſee the caſtle, town, landing, *&c.* than any deſire of his feaſt, which we knew muſt be very indifferent. Accordingly in the morning we went aſhore to wait on mynheer *Rawliſſon*, and were met at our landing by his ſecond, a young man, and a *Frenchman* that was his doctor, who conducted us to the caſtle-gate, where we were receiv'd by himſelf with a ſalute of nine guns. We took a walk before dinner about the caſtle, which is old, and built upon a rock after the *Portugueze* faſhion, from whom the *Dutch* plunder'd it; it has 4 flankers, and about 18 guns in all, thoſe towards the ſea good and long, and ſome of them braſs; the walls are pretty high, and the gate ſtrong which faces the continent. In the midſt of the fort is their warehouſe, kitchen and lodging of the ſoldiers, over which are 3 or 4 ſmall rooms for the factors, a great part of the roof and wall of that wherein we din'd was fallen down; we had ſome *Muſcovy* ducks, kid, fiſh, and ſtore of other proviſions for dinner; but what I lik'd moſt was a pudding made of a certain large root call'd a yam, which eat very gratefully, manag'd as it was by the *French* doctor, with ſugar and orange-juice; we had plenty of punch and ſtumm'd *Rheniſh* wine; but a drink they had call'd *Cocoro*, looking like thin whey, and is a ſort of *Palm*-wine, was preferr'd by me before any other: it was extream pleaſant, and in my thought drank like mead, or rather *Verdy*, or white *Florence* wine, as they call it at *Livorno*. Dinner being over, and the king's health, the *African* company's, and our own being drank, each with a ſalvo of ſeven guns, we were invited by Mr. *Rawliſſon* to take a walk where the negroes uſe to dance, which was about a quarter of a mile from the fort, under two or three very large cotton-trees, of which their canoes are made; and here note, that this is the beſt and cheapeſt place for ſhips that are bound to *Whidaw* to ſlave, to furniſh themſelves with canoes, they being very ſcarce and dear to leeward. We had ſeats and liquor brought us, and ſoon after came the muſick, being 3 black fellows, with the like number of hollow elephants teeth, thro' which they made a hideous bellowing, another in the mean time beating a hollow piece of braſs with a ſtick; then came Mrs. *Rawliſſon*, the factor's wife, who was a pretty young *Malatto*, with a rich ſilk cloth about her middle, and a ſilk cap upon her head flower'd with gold and ſilver, under which her hair was comb'd out at length, for the *Malatto's* covet to wear it ſo, in imitation of the whites, never curling it up, or letting it frizzle, as the blacks do; ſhe was accompany'd, or rather attended, with the ſecond's and doctor's wives, who were young blacks, about 13 years of age, as near as I could gueſs; after we had ſaluted them, they went to dance by turns, in a ridiculous manner, making antick geſtures with their arms, ſhoulders, and heads, their feet having the leaſt ſhare in the action: they began the dance moderately, but as they continu'd it, they by degrees quicken'd their motion ſo, that at the latter end they appear'd perfectly furious and diſtracted. There came ſeveral other women and men to dance, among the laſt were two that had each a jaw-bone of a man ty'd to the wooden handle of their ſword, which was ſtuck into their girdle, and was about half a yard long and three inches broad, in ſhape reſembling a chopping-knife or pruning-bill; the bones they told

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told us belong'd to ſome great warriors they had kill'd in fight, on which they much valu'd themſelves. Having tired our ſelves with their frantick dancing, we return'd to the fort, and, after a glaſs of wine, we gave Mr. *Rawliſſon* thanks for our entertainment, and took our leaves and went aboard. The town is on the eaſt ſide of the caſtle, containing about 100 houſes or huts, ſtrait along the banks of a river which empties itſelf into the ſea near the caſtle, at the mouth of which is the landing-place: I ſaw above 100 negro men and women with pails on the ſide of this river, which they told me were waſhing of ſand and dirt, in ſearch of gold duſt. Here we had but little trade, therefore after we got aboard we weigh'd, and ſtood along ſhore till night, when anchor'd in 18 fathom water, a-breaſt the *Brandenburg* fort, near cape *Tres Puntas*.

The 16th in the morning we ſet ſail, and got about cape *Tres Puntas*, keeping off in 22 fathom water, to avoid a ledge of rocks that lie a good diſtance out from the middle cape. About 12 we were off another *Brandenburg* factory, and about 3 in the evening came to an anchor in *Dicky*'s cove in 14 fathom water, the town bearing N. W. *Dicky*'s cove is about 3 leagues to the E. of cape *Tres Puntas*; here Mr. *Buckerige* was building a ſmall fort upon a great flat rock, about half a mile to the E. of the town; it was not half finiſh'd at our being there; he had a few ſmall guns planted upon the rock under the fort open, which was all his defence then. The town is pretty large; we went aſhore one day and din'd with Mr. *Buckerige*; we fill'd ſome water here, got a little wood, and ſome cancy-ſtones, for our ſlaves to grind their corn upon; and no trade preſenting, we parted thence the 19th for *Succandy*. At *Dicky*'s cove is the beſt and ſmootheſt landing of any of our factories upon this coaſt. We ſtood away to leeward, and about 11 in the morning were a-breaſt *Tagaratha*, which is diſtant about ſeven leagues from *Dicky*'s cove, and makes in a heap of high trees. Off *Tagaratha* point there lies a ledge of rocks, for which reaſon we gave it a good birth, keeping in 14 fathom water. This was the laſt place upon the gold coaſt aſſign'd us by the *Royal African Company* in our charter-parties to diſpoſe of our windward cargoes; which article had we obſerv'd, we muſt have brought moſt of it home again, for each of us had 3000 pounds windward cargoes, and had not ſold to the value of 200 pounds apiece at our arrival here; ſo that we were oblig'd to ſeek a market elſewhere, tho' contrary to our inſtructions. About 2 we hal'd in, and about 4 came to an anchor in *Succandy* road in 7 fathom water, about 2 miles off ſhore. On the point of *Succandy* ſtands a ſmall *Dutch* fort, much higher, and in gun-ſhot of ours, and commands the landing-place. Succandy Fort.

The 20th in the morning Capt. *Shurley* and I went aſhore to our caſtle at *Succandy*, where we found the factor Mr. *Johnſon* in his bed raving mad, curſing and ſwearing moſt wretchedly at us, not in the leaſt knowing Capt. *Shurley*, tho' he had a long former acquaintance with him. I pity'd from my ſoul this poor man, who had plunged himſelf into this condition thro' reſentment of an affront put upon him by one *Vanhukeline*, the copeman or merchant of the *Mine*-caſtle, which, as we were inform'd by his ſecond (who was a young lad, and had been a bluecoat-hoſpital-boy) was as follows. One *Taguba*, a noted negro woman in *Cape Corce* town, being got with child by ſome of the ſoldiers of our caſtle there, was brought to-bed of a malatto girl, who growing to be about 11 years old, Mr. *Johnſon* a factor, then at *Cabo Corce*, had a great fancy for her, and purpos'd to take her for his wife (as they take wives in *Guiney*) and about that time he being removed to *Succandy*, to be chief factor, to make ſure of the girl, took her there to live with him till ſhe was of age fit for matrimonial functions, uſing much tenderneſs and kindneſs to her, and taking great pleaſure and ſatisfaction in her company for two or three years; when ſhe was grown man's meat, and a pretty girl, *Vanhukeline* by bribes and preſents corrupted her mother *Taguba*, and prevail'd with her to go to *Succandy*, and under pretence of making a viſit to her daughter, to ſteal her away and bring her to him, he having order'd a ſwift canoe to lie ready under the *Dutch* fort at *Succandy* for that end. The mother accordingly came, and having been kindly treated by Mr. *Johnſon*, who ſuſpected nothing, went with her daughter to take a walk, and being come near the canoe that lay *perdue*, the canoe-men took hold of her and put her *per* force into it, her mother following, and carry'd them both away to the *Mine*-caſtle, and deliver'd the young one to *Vanhukeline*, who ſoon crack'd that nut which Mr. *Johnſon* had been ſo long preparing for his own tooth. When I din'd with the *Dutch* general at the *Mine* I ſaw her there, being brought in to dance before us, very fine, bearing the title of madam *Vanhukeline*. This, and ſome other old differences between that *Dutchman* and he, did ſo diſturb and vex him, that it threw him into diſtempers, and quite turn'd his brain. We were entertain'd by the young ſecond as well as he could; and about 3 in the evening we

went

went aboard, where we had not been an hour before we ſpied a ſmall ſhip coming away with us afore the wind. About 5 ſhe ſpake with us, and came to an anchor, being the *Eagle* pacquet-boat that ſailed with us out of the *Downs*, bound with letters for *Gambo*, *Sherborow*, and cape *Coaſt*. Captain *Perry* that commanded her then, was dead at *Gambo*, with ſeveral of his men, and his mate Mr. *Brown* ſucceeded him, who came aboard and gave us an account of his voyage, and that agent *Colker* who parted with us in the *Stanier* ſloop at *Monſeradoe* for *Sherborow*, was refus'd admittance by his ſecond when he arriv'd there; whereupon a ſcuffle enſued, wherein ſeveral were wounded, but at length he got poſſeſſion again. He ſoon return'd aboard, and made the beſt of his way to *Cape Coaſt*, we deſigning to call at ſeveral places in our way to look for trade. The fort of *Succandy* was built by captain *Henry Nurſe* when he was agent for the royal *African* company in *Guiney*, as an inſcription upon the wall inform'd us. 'Tis a ſmall white ſquare houſe, in a large yard, of no great defence. On the terras a-top of it are mounted eight or ten ſmall pop iron guns, good for nothing but to waſte powder, being all honey-comb'd within, and the carriages rotten and out of order. I have been inform'd ſince my being here, that the adjacent negroes, inſtigated by *Vanhukeline* and the *Dutch* general, had in the night ſurpriz'd and ſeiz'd the fort, cut *Johnſon* the factor to pieces, and plunder'd all the goods and merchandize.

The 21ſt in the morning we left *Succandy*, and ſteer'd along by *Abady* point, which is 2 leagues diſtant from it; between which and *Shuma* we anchored, and lay all night. In the morning ſome canoes came aboard, with whom we had a good trade for gold; but the negroe merchants were in great pain and fear leſt the *Dutch* ſhould diſcover them, and ſeize their goods for trading with us, as they have had the impudence to do often, as I have been inform'd, not only to ſuch as bought of our ſhips, but alſo out of our caſtle at *Succandy*, of which there was a late inſtance; and the negroes making complaint thereof to our chief merchants at *Cape Corce*, they ſent to the general of the *Mine* to demand reſtitution, aſſuring him that the goods belong'd to the royal *African* company of *England*. But all they have been able to obtain hitherto, was fair promiſes without the leaſt performance. Indeed the *Dutch* are very inſolent upon this coaſt, eſpecially ſince the revolution, endeavouring by all methods to undermine and ruin our commerce there (upon what preſumption I know not) and treating the negroes with great ſeverity which they catch trading with us, tho' we never moleſt their trade. They have wreſted *Comendo* out of our hands (a place that lies the moſt convenient for the gold trade of any upon the coaſt) and ſtill keep it, tho' our agents have writings under the kings of the countries hands, which ſhew an undoubted title to it, as well as our long poſſeſſion of it formerly. Therefore of late years our agents deſigning to repoſſeſs it, and ſettle a factory there, and paſſing by the *Mine* caſtle with materials for that purpoſe, the *Dutch* from the *Mine* had the impudence to fire ſeveral cannon ſhot at the canoe in which one of our agents was, notwithſtanding he had the king's jack flag flying in the head of her; but he purſued his deſign, landed men and materials, and fell to intrenching and fortifying; but ere they could raiſe works ſufficient to ſhelter and ſecure them, they were ſo continually attack'd and diſturb'd by the adjacent negroes, hir'd and inſtigated by the *Dutch*, who had ſupply'd them with arms and ammunition for that end, that they were forc'd to give over the thoughts of ſettleing there, and retire, not without the loſs of ſome men. PHILLIPS. February, 1694.

The 22d in the evening we got up our anchors and ſtood along ſhore; and paſſing by *Shuma*, came to the high bluff red cliffs, abreaſt of which we anchor'd, and lay all night between *Shuma* and *Comendo*; from both which places we had a pretty good trade in the morning: but the blacks were in great fear of the *Dutch* ſtill; for tho' ſome of them would buy two or three bales of perpetuanoes, yet they would never take them whole, but would open them and put them in bags they brought with them, ſo many in each as was an eaſy burden for one man to run away with, which they did for their better diſpatch in landing, and ſecuring them from the *Hollanders*. Having taken what gold we could in this place, we left it the 23d in the afternoon; and ſailing by *Comendo*, came to *Ampeny* point, which is 2 leagues from the *Mine*; between which places we anchor'd, and lay fair for the trade both of *Comendo* and the *Mine* town. Here we had a good trade, and took above thirty marks of gold, each mark being eight ounces troy. The 25th we ſet ſail, paſs'd the *Mine* caſtle, which we ſaluted with 7 guns, and anchor'd in the middle between it and *Cape Coaſt*, being about a league diſtant from each. Here we met with the beſt trade, the negroes coming up

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up to us from all the towns to leeward as far as *Cormantine*. Having made the beſt of our market here, we ſet ſail the 27th in the afternoon, and before night came to an anchor in Cape *Corce* road in 8 fathom water, and ſaluted our caſtle with 15 guns, which they return'd, it bearing N. N. W.

Cabo Corce *Caſtle.*

The caſtle of *Cabo Corce* is the chief of all thoſe our *African* company have upon this coaſt, and where their agents or chief factors always reſide; to which all the other factories are ſubordinate. This caſtle has a handſome proſpect from the ſea, and is a very regular and well-contriv'd fortification, and as ſtrong as it can be well made, conſidering its ſituation, being encompaſs'd with a ſtrong and high brick wall, thro' which you enter by a well-ſecur'd and large gate facing the town, and come into a fine ſpacious ſquare wherein 4 or 500 men may very conveniently be drawn up and exercis'd. It has four flankers which have a cover'd communication with each other, and are mounted with good guns; and over the tank is a noble battery of fifteen whole culverin and demy cannon, lying low, and pointing upon the road, where they would do good execution upon any ſhips that ſhould pretend to attack the caſtle, if there were a ſufficient number of men to ply them briskly, that underſtood the ſport. Under this battery is a curious tank or ciſtern which will contain 400 tons of water, being with great labour cut in a long ſquare out of a rock, and terraſs'd over, having a convenient pair of ſtairs to deſcend into it to fetch the water. This tank is fill'd every rain time, and not only ſupplies the caſtle with water all the year (which no enemy can cut off from them or poiſon) but frequently the company's agents permit their ſhips to fill much of their water there. The method of filling it is thus. There are divers channels contriv'd in the large ſquare conveniently to receive the rain water that pours down from the flankers, and tops of the other buildings in the caſtle; each of which channels have two conveyances, one out of the caſtle, and the other into the tank. Aſſoon as it begins to rain, the *Bumbay* (an officer ſo call'd, whoſe charge it is) makes the negroe ſlaves belonging to the caſtle, ſtop all the conveyances of the water to the tank, then ſweep the caſtle very clean all over; and after it has rain'd about an hour, and waſh'd the caſtle well, the water for that ſpace running out, and carrying the filth and dirt with it, he opens the channels into the tank, where it runs very clear, and in great quantities, the rains here being generally in long and heavy ſhowers. This tank is ſtrongly arch'd over, upon which, by the aforeſaid battery, there is a moſt pleaſant walk. Of theſe tanks every caſtle upon the coaſt has one, but very ſmall, and in proportion to the number of ſoldiers they are allow'd to man them.

In this caſtle the agents and factors have genteel convenient lodgings; and as to the ſoldiers, I believe there are not better barracks any where than here, each two having a handſome room allow'd them, and receive their pay duly and juſtly in gold duſt once a week for their ſubſiſtence. The caſtle has in all about forty guns mounted, ſome of them braſs, and commonly 100 white men in garriſon, with a military land officer to diſcipline and command them under the agents. He is the lieutenant of the caſtle, but is call'd by the title of captain. Every night at eight o'clock the gate is ſhut, where he appoints a good guard, and comes to the agent or chief merchant for the word. Mr. *Platt*, the chief at that time, us'd ſometimes to compliment captain *Shurley* and me to give it, and at other times would give our ſhips, our owners, or our own names; which the lieutenant having communicated to the reſt of the company, after drinking the king's health in a bowl of punch, would take his leave. Captain *Freeman* had this poſt now, and was a very good officer. The three chief merchants who had the government of all the company's affairs on this coaſt, were Mr. *Joſhua Platt*, a gentleman of good parts and courage, and had been long accuſtomed to theſe countries. He was gold-taker, receiving and paying all the company's gold. The next to him was Mr. *William Ronan*, an *Iriſh* gentleman, who had liv'd long in *France*, and ſpake that language fluently, as well as the baſtard *Portugueze* the negroes uſe upon this coaſt. He was a brisk active daring man, a skilful merchant, and of a moſt obliging temper; and tho a *Roman* catholick by religion, yet I believe the *African* company could not employ any that was more real and zealous for their intereſt, or would expoſe himſelf more to ſerve them. He was warehouſe-keeper, receiving and delivering all the company's goods. The third was Mr. *William Melroſs* a *Scotſman*, a very ſober quiet honeſt man, and underſtood accounts to perfection. He was Book-keeper. One *Smith* an *Iriſhman* was chaplain, who, every morning at nine o'clock, read the church prayers to the garriſon, and preach'd every *Sunday*. The ſurgeon was a *Scot*, whoſe name I have

have forgot. He had a mate and barber under him, and was ſupply'd with good medicines from the company in *England* by moſt of their ſhips.

In the caſtle there is one ſpacious ware-houſe, and ſeveral ſmaller ones; a convenient trunk or place for the ſlaves to live in by themſelves; a good forge with ſmiths to make what iron-work is wanted; a large kitchen for dreſſing the proviſions, the factors keeping a very plentiful table, but eat only twice a day, at ten in the morning and four in the evening; which is a very prudent method, the midſt of the day being here ſo intenſely hot, that the very ſcent of the meat is enough to pall one's ſtomach. There are ſeldom leſs than ſixteen dine at their table, which is always well cover'd, and, I have been aſſur'd, ſtands the *African* company ſome years from 12 to 1400 *l.* tho' moſt proviſions are very reaſonable, there being ſtore of excellent large fiſh caught of ſeveral ſorts, and ſold for little; plenty of ſmall poultry, and abundance of fine large *Muſcovy* ducks at low rates. Mutton and goats are not ſcarce, but very lean and inſipid meat; but beef is a rarity ſeldom to be met with. The caſtle is well ſtock'd with tame pigeons, which have convenient lodgings, and thrive very well. When the tank is low, that ſhips cannot be ſupply'd with water thence, they are forc'd to fill it at a ſtanding pool call'd *Domine*'s hole, a good diſtance from the caſtle, and roll it thence over craggy ſtones to the landing place, where negroes, who make it their profeſſion and buſineſs, attend to ſwim the water-cask off to the long-boat, which lies about a cable's length off ſhore at an anchor, not daring to come nearer for the great ſwell that conſtantly rolls upon this whole coaſt from the vaſt *Atlantick* ocean. The negroe ſwimmers watch a ſmooth, then roll the punchions of water into the ſea till they float; then each takes his cask and ſwims after it, ſometimes above water, ſometimes under water, ſtill puſhing it forward before him till it comes to the longboat, who hoiſt it in; for the further off ſhore the ſmoother the water: and for this ſervice we pay the blacks ſo much a cask when we go away. The merchandize and ſtores we bring for the caſtle, we ſend in our longboat as near the ſhore as ſhe dare go, and the canoes come and unlade her; which being flat bottom'd, play upon the ſea until they perceive a ſmooth, then with violence run themſelves aſhore, take out the goods, and launch off again.

There are two gardens belong to the caſtle, one of which is large, full of lime and orange trees, but little pot-herbs or ſalletting, I preſume, for want of induſtry and care; for I ſaw great variety of both in the garden of the *Mine* caſtle, which is very ſpacious and pleaſant; and indeed (which I am ſorry I have occaſion to ſay) the *Dutch* excel and out-do us in every thing (except honeſty) on this coaſt, their caſtles being much ſtronger and better than ours, lie more conveniently, and are better mann'd and govern'd, they ſparing no coſt upon them to make them ſtrong and delightful, and add to them all the conveniencies that is poſſible. In the middle of our caſtle garden is a ſquare ſummer-houſe built, where the agents ſometimes enjoy themſelves. In this garden captain *Shurley* and I entertain'd the agents, factors, and other officers of the caſtle at dinner before our departure (for they would not venture to come aboard our ſhips, leſt any caſualty might happen in their abſence) where we enjoy'd our ſelves plentifully, having each of us ſix of our quarter-deck guns brought aſhore, with powder, *&c.* and our gunners to ply them; which they did to purpoſe, and made them roar merrily, firing eleven at every health. The other is nearer the caſtle, and is call'd *Black Jack*'s garden, having nothing therein but cocoa-nut trees. This is the burying place of our factors and white men that die there, except the agents and ſome others, who, for ſome extraordinary reſpects, are buried in by-places in the caſtle. Mr. *Klayton*, the chief of *Fredericksburg*, or the *Danes* hill fort, a ſtrong healthy man, ſicken'd while I was here, and in three days died of a fever, and was buried in that garden with all the ceremony uſual upon ſuch occaſions. The agents with moſt of the factors, and a detachment of the gariſon, with their arms revers'd, attending the corps. Aſſoon as it was in the grave they fired a volley; which being a ſignal to the caſtle, it fired 10 guns, as did each of our ſhips. The ceremony being ended, Mr. *John Rootſey*, a *Barbadian*, who came over with our ſhips, was appointed by the agents as ſucceſſor to the deceas'd in his government of the *Danes* hill; which he that night took poſſeſſion of, and treated us next day with a handſome dinner there.

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We landed out of the *Hannibal* at this place thirty ſoldiers for the company, in as good health as we receiv'd them aboard in *England*; but in two months time that we lay here to complete our buſineſs, they were near half dead, and ſcarce enough of the ſurvivors able to carry their fellows to the grave.

PHILLIPS. February, 1694. *The manner of the gold trade.*

The way of receiving the gold upon this whole coaſt, is by weight, of which the ſeveral kinds that are us'd, and in which we keep our accounts, are marks, ounces, achies, and taccooes. A taccoo is a ſmall berry as big as a pea, 12 of which make an achy, *viz.*

12 Taccooes are	1 achy,
16 Achies are	1 ounce troy,
8 ounces troy are	1 mark gold;

Value about 32 *l. Sterling.* They have other denominations for weights, as a bendy is 2 ounces; a peeſe, which is 4 achies; a damby, which is a little black berry, two of which make a taccoo. If they are to purchaſe a thing of ſmall value that they have no weight little enough for it, they give a grain of gold which they call a *Cracra.* We keep our accounts in marks, ounces, achies, and taccooes only. The gold is moſt in duſt, with ſome pieces of rock among it; and ſometimes in wire, and wedges, and broken fatiſhes. We firſt ſift and blow the duſt gold in copper ſifters and pens we carry for that purpoſe, until it be well clear of dirt (which will blow away, being leſs weighty than the gold) then it is carefully pick'd, and all the bad or ſuſpicious taken from it by a negroe that underſtands gold well, and we entertain aboard for that purpoſe, giving him a gratuity when we have done trading. We likewiſe carry touchſtones to try the gold; and indeed we had need of all the caution imaginable to avoid being cheated by the negroes, which they often endeavour by mixing filings of braſs with the gold duſt, and filling the middle of their caſt ingots with lead; ſo that we never take any of them without cutting them with a chizel into ſmall pieces, to ſee that they be the ſame throughout. The rock gold is generally good, being in ſuch lumps and ſhape as cannot be eaſily counterfeited; only there is much dirt in holes and crevices of it, which muſt be pick'd out ere 'tis weigh'd.

The commodities that are moſt in demand upon the gold coaſt, are blue and red perpetuanoes, pewter baſons of ſeveral ſizes, from one to four pound weight, old ſheets, large *Flemiſh* knives, iron bars, caſes of ſpirits, blue ſayes, if well dyed, and coral, if large and of a good colour. Theſe goods will ſeldom or never fail of a good market. I alſo carried there on account of the *African* company, muskets, niconees, tapſeals, bayſadoes, braſs kettles, *Engliſh* carpets, *Welſh* plains, lead bars, firkins of tallow, powder, *&c.* None of which did anſwer expectation, being forc'd to bring back to *England* a great part of them; and thoſe we ſold were at a very low rate.

In the mornings early the blacks came aboard to trade, bringing their gold in divers little rags, according to the number of thoſe who employ them to trade for them; which when we have blown and pick'd clean, we return what we diſlike, and weigh the reſt; for which we deliver them ſuch commodities as they require to the value, which they will caſt up by head to admiration. We are always very kind to good traders, giving them ſtore of good punch and brandy; but ſuch as bring very bad gold, we ſometimes chaſtize; and to deter them from the like practice, we pour ſome *aqua fortis* upon it, which immediately turns all the braſs that is amongſt it, green, to the great admiration and confuſion of the cheats, whom we turn away with ſevere threats, and ſometimes put them in irons. Captain *Shurley*, at *Animabo*, threw two ounces of a negroe's gold over board, becauſe it was very full of braſs, and never made the black a farthing ſatisfaction. Often ſome of the beſt traders will come and deſire us to give them credit for the value in goods of 2 or 3 marks of gold, promiſing payment in a certain number of days, when their ſervants or boys (as they call them tho' they be ſixty years old) return from the inland countries, with the produce in gold of ſuch merchandize as they ſent by them there to diſpoſe of. Commonly they will leave ſome pledge in our hands till payment, as great collars of gold, and other large fatiſhes of exquiſite workmanſhip, which their great men wear, and which they will be ſure to redeem: but if we take their words, and they do not come and pay us according to promiſe, the method we take for ſatisfaction, is, to piniar or ſeize upon as many of the negroes of that town where our debtor lives, as we can, or as will come to the value of the debt, which we ſecure aboard, and threaten to carry away with us if they be not redeem'd; whereupon they ſend word to their friends and relations where they are, and upon what account they are piniar'd, and how much the debt is. Preſently their friends demand a palavera before the king or great capaſhiers of the town, who oblige the debtor and his friends to provide the ſum they owe, to releaſe thoſe that were piniar'd on their account, or elſe to deliver us themſelves in their ſtead: but this is ſeldom done, we being very cautious in truſting them for any conſiderable value.

The

Careleſneſs of the negroes with regard to gun-powder.

The negroes are ſo little apprehenſive of danger, that when we have ſold them two or three barrels of powder, and they have got it into their canoe, they have bought a caſe of ſpirits and fallen to drinking and ſmoaking tobacco till they were drunk, all the while ſitting a top of the barrels of powder, and letting the ſparks from their pipes fall upon them without any concern, which created a terror in us to ſee, and by which means they are frequently blown up; ſo that it is our cuſtom, aſſoon as we have ſold them any powder, to make them take it into their canoe, and put off, and lie about 200 yards from the ſhip till the reſt of their buſineſs be completed, leſt we might be injur'd by their ſtupid careleſneſs.

About 100 yards from the caſtle is a redoubt built upon an aſcent with two or three ſmall guns mounted thereon, wherein two ſoldiers always keep watch, to give notice to the caſtle if they perceive any enemy or danger approaching. They get up into it by a ladder which they hale up after them, and keep therein till they deſcend again, being built after the ſame manner as the towers that lie along the coaſt of *Spain*, to give notice of the approach of any *Moors* or *Turkiſh* pirates; only thoſe do it by beacons, whereas theſe fire their guns.

In the caſtle is kept a ſchool to teach the little black children of the town to read and write, and ſo prepare them to be made chriſtians. But ſuch is the deluſion and obſtinacy of the negroes in their own ſuperſtitious paganiſm, that they are neither willing to be baptiz'd themſelves, nor will be prevail'd upon to let their children partake of that great and ineſtimable bleſſing of being liſted under the banners of the great captain of our ſalvation, but bring them up to be the devil's ſlaves, whom they worſhip under the diſguiſe of their fatiſhes.

Near the great gate is a dungeon for the confinement of heinous malefactors, ſuch as murderers, traitors, *&c.* till an opportunity preſents to ſend them into *England* to be tried, and receive the rewards of their villainy. Which dark apartment one of my trumpeters whoſe name was *William Lord*, hanſel'd; for being aſhore drinking punch with ſome of the inferior officers of the caſtle, there happened a difference between him and one of the ſerjeants, who gave him a challenge to meet him with his ſword near the redoubt, which the trumpeter promis'd, and was as good as his word; and both lugging out, it was the ſerjeant's chance to be thruſt into the belly; upon which he reſign'd his ſword, begg'd his life, and ſunk down. Upon knowledge whereof at the caſtle, the trumpeter was ſeiz'd and clap'd into the dungeon, which aſſoon as I underſtood, I deſir'd the agents that their ſurgeon and mine might viſit the ſerjeant, ſearch his wound, and conſult the conſequence thereof, if mortal or not, which they freely agreed to; and in about an hour after the ſurgeons return'd, and made their report, both concurring that it was not mortal nor dangerous, the ſword having only paſs'd about five inches glancing into the *abdomen*, without going thro' the belly, or injuring any of the entrails. Whereupon the trumpeter was releas'd; who, after thanks given the agents, immediately repair'd aboard the ſhip, as his beſt *aſylum*, where he was out of the reach of their power. But tho' he was ſo lucky this time, yet I ſuſpect a halter will be his fate; for, tho' a ſtout fellow, he was a moſt diſſolute wicked wretch; and for his villainies and irregularities aboard, I was forc'd, at St. *Thomas*'s iſland, to clap him in irons, hands and feet, and keep him ſo upon my poop eight weeks till my arrival at *Barbadoes*, where I purpos'd to put him on board one of his majeſty's men of war that knew how to handle ſuch refractory ſparks; but upon his ſeeming repentance and earneſt intreaty I was prevail'd upon to forbear, to my great vexation afterwards; for he ſoon got aſhore there, and run away from my ſhip, concealing himſelf in ſome of the idle houſes in *Bridgetown*, till, by his extravagancies, he had not only ſpent all his wages, but run ſo far in debt, that he could have no longer entertainment or credit; whereupon he enter'd himſelf on board a ſmall *New-England* frigat of twenty guns, and an excellent ſailer, which ſome *Barbadoes* merchants bought and mann'd, and fitted out warlikely, and brought colonel *Ruſſel* the governor to be part-owner with them, who gave her his commiſſion. The pretence of her voyage was for *Madagaſcar* to purchaſe negroes; but as I privately underſtood then, and ſince have been well aſſured, her deſign was for the *Red Sea*, to make the beſt of her market with the *Mogul*'s ſhips, which having done, and bought a few negroes for a colour, ſhe might boldly and ſafely return to *Barbadoes* with her treaſure, as long as the governor was intereſted, and a party concerned, and ſo near of kin to the *Engliſh* admiral. I ſold a certain judge and merchant there then, a large parcel of fire-arms for her uſe, more than was cuſtomary or neceſſary for ſuch a ſmall veſſel to carry only for her defence on a trading

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trading voyage. What became of her ſince I know not. My trumpeter's entring aboard her led me to ſpeak ſo much of her; who being entertain'd in the governor's ſervice, I found it was in vain to have him and ſeveral others of my men reſtor'd, who were tempted to deſert me. The reſt of the merchant ſhips there then, heavily felt the effects of fitting out that ſhip, by the loſs of their men; which, together with the plague that violently reign'd there, the preſſing for the king's ſervice to complete the men of wars numbers, *&c.* were grown ſo ſcarce, that an ordinary fellow would demand thirty pounds pay for the voyage thence to *England*, which is generally made in ſix weeks, and to be diſcharg'd at the firſt port in *England* we put into. Captain *Sinclair*, commander of the *Leere* frigate, in my hearing, offer'd to pay captain *Thomas Sheirman*, commander of his majeſty's ſhip *Tyger*, under whoſe convoy he was to come home, the ſum of one hundred pounds down preſently, upon condition he would lend him ten of the worſt men he had to help to ſail his ſhip home, and likewiſe pay the men what wages they ſhould demand; which captain *Sheirman* abſolutely refus'd upon any terms whatſoever.

At *Cabo Corce* we took in part of the *Indian* corn order'd us for the proviſion of our negroes to *Barbadoes*, the allowance being a cheſt which contains about four buſhels for every negroe. It is charg'd the company at two achies *per* cheſt, and bare meaſure; but we could buy better of the blacks at an achy and $\frac{1}{2}$, and heap'd meaſure. Here is ſome palm oil, but it is cheaper at *Whidaw*, tho' the iſland of St. *Thomas* is the cheapeſt place, and where there is moſt plenty of it.

The company had here a ſmall brigantine, commanded by one *Bradſhaw*, for the uſe of the caſtle, ſhe being chiefly employ'd to carry ſtores and merchandize, *&c.* to the other factories upon this coaſt.

While we lay at this place, the king of *Sabo*, and *Nimpha* the general of the *Arcanys* arrived here, with about 20000 blacks, in their return from the wars againſt the king of *Futtoo*, whom they had routed out of his country, and forc'd to ſeek protection at the *Mine*-caſtle, and made his brother king, who ſoon follow'd them to Cape *Corce* caſtle, where he took the fatiſh to be at conſtant enmity with his brother, to be ever true to the *Engliſh* intereſt, and not to moleſt the *Arcanys* in their trade, which was the occaſion of the war with his brother. But of this I ſhall ſay more when I come to give an account of their fatiſhes.

While we were here there happened a wedding, as follows. The gunner of the caſtle, either tir'd with, or diſliking his preſent wife, turn'd her away, and, while we were here, took to him another, being daughter to captain *Amo* one of the caſtle capaſhiers; the wedding being concluded with only giving a treat to the caſtle officers, and ſome of her jetty relations, and a cloth to herſelf, they were man and wife; but when they came to the point of conſummation, the girl being not above twelve years old, found it ſo painful that ſhe could not bear it; which fretted the gunner to that degree, that he grew angry with his new wife; but finding that prevail'd but little, he bought three or four yards of red flower'd ſilk from our ſhips; which ſhewing his wife, promis'd to give it her for a cloth, upon her paſſive obedience, and not otherwiſe. The beauty of the ſilk ſo dazzled the eyes of the girl, and ſo ſooth'd her pride, as that night it ſeems the gunner made a breach with his cannon; for the next morning the lady was in her ſilks, and both good friends.

The gold coaſt is more healthy and hilly, and leſs woody than any other part of *Guiney*, being cover'd with thick ſhrubs and furzes, ſo that I could not go half a mile into the inland, and therefore can give no account of it.

When a factor ſends a black upon an errand to another factor, tho' forty miles diſtant, his paſſport is only the factor's cane, which he delivers him; upon ſhewing of which he is permitted to paſs any where unmoleſted, and has credence given him, and confidence repos'd in him by the perſon he is ſent to. The kings and great capaſhiers here are very fond of canes, and 'tis the greateſt preſent the *African* company can make them, each of our caſtle capaſhiers having one as a badge of his office; and the king of *Sabo* had one given him about ſix foot long, thick, and with a large ſilver head, which he much eſteem'd, and carried always with him.

Having landed all the caſtle cargo, which took us up a great deal of time, the *Eaſt-India Merchant* and our ſhip having each 300 tons of goods, and no boats to load it in but our own long-boats, which could not work both at the ſame time; and ſometimes the ſea ſo high, that we could do nothing for ſix or ſeven days together, the canoes not being able to come off to fetch the goods, which occaſion'd our long ſtay here, together with filling our water, diſpoſing of our windward cargo as much as we could, the caſtle refuſing to take the remainder

mainder aſhore on any terms, ſettling accounts with the company's chief merchants, taking corn aboard, *&c.* All which having at length effected, on the 24th of *April* about 5 in the evening I took my leave of the company's worthy factors here, who had heap'd upon me abundance of civilities during my ſtay with them, and whoſe candour I ſhall always gratefully remember, as well as that of all the honeſt gentlemen of our nation upon this whole coaſt, who endeavour'd to outvie each other in their favours and kind entertainments of us in their ſeveral factories, being overjoy'd at our arrival, and no leſs troubled and concern'd for our departure. But go we muſt; and accordingly, after a great many reciprocal endearments, I wiſh'd them all a merry *Chriſtmas*, and took boat, having two cheſts of gold for the *African* company in *London* with me in her. I had order'd the ſhip to be got under ſail, and ſtand off and on in the road to expect us; but before we could reach her, we were overtaken by a very ſevere tornado, which, for fear of ſinking the boat, the ſea running very high, made us row right afore it, blowing extremely hard till 10 o'clock at night, by which time we were drove half way between Cape *Corce* and the *Mine*-caſtle; but then having leſs wind, we turn'd the boat's head, and rowed to the eaſt to look for the ſhip, which, about one in the morning, we found at anchor off of the *Danes*-hill fort, which is about gun-ſhot from Cape *Corce* caſtle, to the eaſt, on the top of a round ſteep hill. It has ten guns, and is impregnable by its ſituation, if it has men and proviſions ſufficient. We got it from the *Danes*, and now Mr. *John Rootſey* was factor there for the company, with about twelve ſoldiers in garriſon. It has a very good garden belonging to it at the foot of the hill, which produces a vaſt quantity of limes and oranges.

When we came aboard we got in the cheſts of gold, and hoiſted our pinnace upon the booms, but was acquainted by my mate, that when he came to an anchor with the ſmall-bower in the turnado, bringing up the ſhip, the cable broke, ſo that he was forc'd to let go the beſt-bower, by which we rid all night.

April the 25th. This morning we took our leave of the caſtle, paying our reſpects in 15 guns, which they return'd, it being too late to ſalute them laſt night: About 8 o'clock ſent our long-boat on the buoy to weigh the ſmall-bower anchor, and get him aboard, but he was ſo ſettled in the ground with the tornado, that in heaving a ſtrain the buoy-rope broke, and the boat drove to leeward; we after ſent our boats with a taw-line and double-headed ſhot to ſweep for him, but to no purpoſe, for they could not find him all day, therefore were forc'd to leave him behind; Captain *Shurley* got into *Animabo* this day, but the ſeeking for our anchor hinder'd us. Phillips. April, 1694.

The 26th at 6 in the morning we hove up our beſt-bower, and ſtood to the Eaſt for *Animabo*; we paſs'd by *Maury*, or fort *Naſſaw*, poſſeſs'd by the *Dutch*; 'tis about a league from cape *Corce*; it lies high, and looks like a handſome ſmall modern fortification, of about 16 or 20 guns; but I was not aſhore there, therefore can ſay no more of it. About 9 o'clock we were abreaſt *Aniſhen*, which is a thatch'd-houſe, where our *African* company have a ſmall factory, and lies about a league ſhort of *Animabo*, where about 10 a-clock we arriv'd, and anchor'd in 7 fathom water, about a mile and half off ſhore, the caſtle bearing N. W. which we ſaluted with 7 guns, and were return'd the ſame. We moor'd our ſhip with ketch-anchor and hauſer; and after dinner I went aſhore to Mr. *Searle* the factor here, to know where and when we ſhould ſend for the corn aſſign'd us here by the chief merchants at cape *Corce*, there being not enough to ſupply us there, and therefore were to call for the reſt at this place, and *Aena*, to compleat our quantity of 700 cheſts each. Mr. *Searle* immediately order'd what quantity he had to be delivered us whenever our boats came for it, and entertain'd us very lovingly till night, when Capt. *Shurley* and I went aboard. *Animabo* lies in the kingdom of *Fantine*, is a pretty large town; the negro inhabitants are accounted very bold and ſtout fellows, but the moſt deſperate treacherous villains, and greateſt cheats upon the whole coaſt, for the gold here is accounted the worſt, and moſt mix'd with braſs, of any in *Guiney*; it lies about 4 leagues to the Eaſt of *Cabo Corce*. Our caſtle is pretty ſtrong, of about 18 guns, where we were very kindly entertained by Mr. *Searle* ſome days, and by Mr. *Cooper* at *Aga* on other days. *Aga* is a ſmall thatch'd houſe, about half a mile to the eaſt from *Animabo*, on the ſea-ſhore, having little or no defence except a few muſkets. It has a large yard and fine pond for ducks. Mr. *Cooper* the factor, who is a very ingenious young gentleman, gave us a cordial reception, having the company of his wife (as he call'd her) to dine with us, as we had of Mrs. *Searle*'s at *Animabo*, being both *Mulattos*, as was Mr. *Ronons*'s at *Cabo Corce*. This is a pleaſant way of marrying, for they can turn them off and take others at pleaſure; which makes them very careful to humour their huſbands in waſhing their linen, clean-

Fort Naſſaw.

Aniſhen.

Animabo.

Aga.

PHILLIPS. cleaning their chambers, *&c.* and the charge of keeping them is little or nothing.

We lay at *Animabo* until the 2d day of *May*, when captain *Shurley* and I having each of us got off 180 cheſts of corn, fill'd two boats of water, and diſpos'd of what we could of the remainder of our windward cargo, we took leave of Mr. *Searle* and Mr. *Cooper*, and got up our anchors, and ſtood to the E. along ſhore about 2 leagues diſtant; and at night came to an anchor in 15 fathom water. While we lay at *Animabo* we had frequently the company of Mr. *Faſleman*, the *Dutch* governor of *Cormantine* caſtle, to dine with us, and were handſomely treated at dinner one day by him at his caſtle of *Cormantine*, and the next day he and our factors favour'd me with their company aboard the *Hannibal*. *Cormantine* is a pretty neat fort of about twenty guns, lying much higher than ours, and about a league to the eaſt of it. During our ſtay here, Mr. *Henry Nurſe*, eldeſt ſon to agent *Nurſe*, a very hopeful young gentleman, departed this life aboard the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, where he was third mate. Out of reſpect to him captain *Shurley* and I ſent our boats and officers to attend the corpſe to *Cape Coaſt* caſtle to be buried. When it put off from our ſhips we fired each 20 guns at half a minute's diſtance, as uſual in ſuch caſes. He was interr'd in a by place in the caſtle very decently, as we were inform'd by our officers that return'd at night, and had all rings given them, as had all the factors of the caſtle. I had two little negroe boys preſented me here by our honeſt factors, and two before at *Cape Corce*, with good ſtore of *Muſcovy* ducks, and other freſh proviſions.

May, 1694.

Cormantine.

May the 3d. This morning we got under ſail, and ſtood along ſhore for *Winiba*. We had ſeveral canoes come off, which occaſion'd our lying by often in hopes of trade, but found little, they wanting gold. At 8 in the evening we anchor'd leſt we ſhould out-ſhoot our port.

May the 4th. This morning at 8 made ſail, and at 11 came to an anchor at *Winiba* in 9 fathom good ground; and having moor'd ſhip after dinner, went aſhore to ſee for our canoes, which Mr. *Nicolas Buckrige*, the factor here, had promis'd to procure us for our uſe at *Whidaw*.

Here we got each of us one five-hand canoe, and ſet our canoe-men and carpenters to work to fit them with knees and timbers to ſtrengthen them. We hal'd our long-boat aſhore and trim'd her, being leaky, and much worm-eaten. We fill'd ſome water and cut good ſtore of fire-wood by the queen's permiſſion. This queen is about fifty years old, as black as jet, but very corpulent. We went with Mr. *Buckrige* to pay our reſpects to her under a great tree where ſhe ſat. She receiv'd us very kindly, and made her attendants dance after their manner before us. She was very free of her kiſſes to Mr. *Buckrige*, whom ſhe ſeem'd much to eſteem; and truly he deſerv'd it from all that knew him, being an extraordinary good-humour'd and ingenious gentleman, and underſtood this country and language very well. We preſented her with an anchor of brandy each, and ſome hands of tobacco, which ſhe receiv'd with abundance of thanks and ſatisfaction, and ſo bid her good night. She was ſo extremely civil before we parted, to offer each of us a bed-fellow of her young maids of honour while we continued there, but we modeſtly declin'd her majeſty's proffer, and that night lay aſhore with Mr. *Buckrige*. Next day we were forc'd to keep a faſt; for the cook being dreſſing of dinner, among which there was a young pig roaſting at a quick fire, the flame of it reach'd the dry palm branches that thatch'd the kitchen, which immediately took fire, and ſpread ſo in an inſtant, that, in leſs than a quarter of an hour, our dinner and kitchen were converted to aſhes. Mr. *Buckrige* liv'd here in a little thatch'd houſe with mud walls, without any defence, and was often in great fear and hazard of being deſtroy'd and plunder'd by the *Quamboers*, who are an inland people, and frequently make ravages towards the ſea-ſide for booty, and had ſent him ſome threatning meſſages, tho' the queen aſſur'd him, that ſhe would loſe her own life before he ſhould receive any injury; but he little depended upon that, but was very glad our ſhips were there for a ſafe retreat upon occaſion. And one night being alarm'd with a rumour that the *Quamboers* were upon their march towards the town, he pack'd up all the company's goods ready to come aboard us, but that he was inform'd ſoon that it was a cauſeleſs report. He was building of a fort for his ſecurity about a muſket ſhot from the ſea-ſide, upon an eminence, and had raiſed the walls about eight foot high, ſquare, and dug a tank within; but not having workmen nor other neceſſaries from *Cape Corce*, as he expected and wanted, the building went on but ſlowly, to his great vexation, who had now coverd the tops of the walls with palm branches, againſt the rainy ſeaſon, to keep the water from ſoaking in to decay them. He made bricks here, but ſad crumbling unſerviceable traſh: and, as he told me, neceſſity had forc'd him

him to pound oyſter-ſhells into powder, to ſerve for lime to make mortar, there being ſtore of oyſters on this coaſt, and the ſaid oyſter lime would faſten and cement very well; there was not above 20 houſes in this town: round it are pleaſant fields inclos'd with good hedges, and full of *Indian* corn and good graſs, this country lying low; about a mile from the town towards the inland are divers large lakes or ponds of water; on the ſides of which we ſaw many *Guiney* hens, and great diverſity of other fowls, but the beſt ſight was the vaſt herds of wild deer, which rang'd the plains about theſe lakes; of which I can modeſtly affirm, that I have ſeen 500 at once, but ſo very wild that they would not ſuffer us to come within ſhot of them, being inform'd by Mr. *Buckrige*, that the negroes method of killing them, was to lie perdue near the fountain where they came to drink in the night, and ſo take their conveniency of ſhooting them; and we being deſirous to regale ourſelves with a haunch of veniſon, left my gunner and the gunner of the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, with guns and ammunition near the lakes to make wars with them in the night, at their own inſtance, who promis'd to victual our ſhips with veniſon by next day, having both been old deer-ſtealers in *England*, and underſtood the trade; but they were now it ſeems out of their element, for next day they return'd to us loaden with excuſes, but no veniſon.

Here are a vaſt number of over-grown large baboons, ſome as big as a large maſtiff dog, which go in droves of 50 and 100 together, and are very dangerous to be met with, eſpecially by women; who I have been credibly aſſured they have often ſeiz'd upon, raviſh'd, and in that kind abus'd one after another, till they have kill'd them. Here is plenty of wood, and good watering, but both about a mile to the eaſt of the town.

Mr. *Buckrige* had a good trade here for gold, and were the fort that is begun compleated and arm'd, for the defence of the company's goods and factors, as well as the town and traders from free-booters, it would certainly turn to the *African* company's great advantage, there being no other nation near to moleſt or interfere in the trade, nor will the queen permit any other nation to ſettle here, tho' ſhe complain'd that our agents at *Cape Coaſt* did neglect her in not ſending her a cane, and a piece of ſilk for a cloth, according to promiſe, the ſame goods are in demand here as to windward on the gold coaſt.

Our buſineſs being compleated at *Winiba* by the 9th inſtant, we went aboard and got our ſhips under ſail for *Acra*, Mr. *Buckrige* going my paſſenger, to pay a viſit to Mr. *Bloome* the factor there. Capt. *Shurley* has been long ſick of a flux and fever, and is now very ill, and I troubled with violent convulſions in my head, that I can get no ſleep without opiates, and ſo giddy that I cannot walk without aſſiſtance; we ſtood along ſhore all day with an eaſy ſail to the eaſt, and at night came to an anchor in 14 fathom water, with our ſtream-anchor and cable, which we have chiefly uſed along the whole coaſt for the eaſineſs of weighing him. PHILLIPS. May, 1694.

May the 10th. This day had a fine gale at S. W. ſteering within two leagues of the ſhore along to the eaſt till night, when chopt to an anchor in 11 fathom clay ground.

May the 11th. This day we lay becalm'd.

May the 12th. We weigh'd early this morning, with a ſmall breeſe at W. S. W. and at 10 ſaw *Acra* fort; and at 12 let go our anchor in eight fathom water, about two mile off ſhore: Here Mr. *John Bloome* the factor order'd us the remainder of our corn, to compleat 700 cheſts apiece, which we got aboard, fill'd ſome water, and had pretty good trade, which encourag'd us to ſtay till the 17th, in which time we took 14 marks of gold, and 13 more in our way from *Cape Corce* here, having taken in all upon the coaſt for produce of as much of my windward cargo as I could diſpoſe of, 113 marks gold, for account of the royal *African* company, and the owners of the ſhip. I bought a five-hand canoe here of the black general, who had ſurpriz'd and ſeiz'd the *Danes* fort here, forced the *Danes* general to fly to the *Dutch* to ſave his life, murder'd his ſecond and ſeveral of the ſoldiers, and now trades with the *Dutch* interlopers, and ſupplies them with water and other neceſſaries, which they can get no where elſe, except the iſlands of St. *Thomas* and *Princes*. When the caſtle was ſurpriz'd there was ſtore of merchandize of all kinds therein, and above 50 marks of gold, as I was inform'd by the *Danes* general, who ſoon left the *Dutch* and came to *Cape Corce* caſtle, where he was very kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by our agents; but finding no ſhips of his own nation arrive, he accepted of the offer I made him of his paſſage, *gratis*, with us to *Europe*, tho' he own'd he was in great fear of being call'd to an account in *Denmark*, for the loſs of the caſtle, it being ſurpriz'd by a parcel of negroes that were admitted in, under pretence to trade, but were privately arm'd, and while his ſecond was ſhewing them goods, one of them ſtabb'd him behind, and then diſperſed to ſecure all the others in the caſtle, having a party lying conceal'd without,

The Danes fort taken by the Blacks.

PHILLIPS. May, 1694.

out, to assist them upon signal given; the general hearing a disorder in the castle, came out of his chamber with his sword in his hand to see what was the matter, and was immediately assaulted by two blacks, against whom he made good his ground for some time, calling to his second and soldiers for assistance, but finding none come, but in their stead more arm'd blacks, he betook him to a window, whence he flung himself out, and fled to the *Dutch* as before, but not without receiving several wounds, one of which had disabled his left arm; he was a young man about 26 years of age, which possibly may occasion the more reflections upon him; for what accidents happen to old men are pass'd over, and look'd upon as not to be avoided, whereas the same happening to a young man, are generally imputed to his ignorance, carelessness, or intemperance, tho' he may have more sense, care, and sobriety, than many of the formal long-beards.

The black general's entertainment.

This black general sent two of his servants to invite Mr. *Bloome*, Mr. *Buckrige*, and myself, to dine with him, which we accepted, and were carried there in hammocks he had sent to attend us; when we came to enter the castle the guard demanded our swords, which Mr. *Bloome* and *Buckrige*, and the rest deliver'd, but I refus'd, at which they seem'd concern'd, and went to acquaint the general, who himself came to receive us, and told me it was always the custom, that all who enter'd there left their swords at the gate, I reply'd that might be, but that it was never the custom of *English* commanders to part with their swords, upon any account whatsoever; in which finding me resolute, he seem'd satisfy'd and led us in; he shew'd us the way into the dining room, which was by climbing up a ladder, and entring thro' a hole, or scuttle: when we were ascended he drank to us in a glass of brandy, and all the guns in the fort were discharg'd; after we had walk'd about a quarter of an hour in the castle, I pull'd off my sword of my own accord, and gave it my own boy to hold, which I perceiv'd he took very kindly.

We were treated at dinner with plenty of punch and victuals, and indeed pretty well dress'd, considering the swinish manner 'tis the custom of the negroes to eat; but we were oblig'd for it to the experience the black general got in one of our factories, where he had served some time in quality of cook, and now went very often into the kitchen to give the necessary orders, tho' at dinner he was in great state, having a negroe boy with a pistol on each side him for a guard: He drank the king of *England*'s, the *African* company's, and our own healths frequently, with vollies of cannon, of which he fired above 200, during our stay there: The flag he had flying was white, with a black man painted in the middle brandishing a scymiter: The castle is old and much out of repair; it has about 16 guns, but much out of kelter; it lies about four miles to the east of our castle; in our return from thence we kill'd four hares with clubs, of which vermin here are vast numbers, in the sedge and furzes, which are hereabouts very thick: Mr. *Bloome*, with a little spaniel he had, would in half an hour's time take three or four of them when he pleas'd; but I thought them very insipid meat: The next day after our being with the black general, arrived at *Acra* two *Danish* ships of 26 guns apiece; as they pass'd by our ships they saluted us with 9 guns each, which we return'd, and they came to an anchor about a mile to the east of us; they were sent on purpose from *Denmark* to compound with the black general for the surrendering of their fort, and to settle it again, for which end they had brought with them a governor, soldiers, provisions, ammunition, merchandize, *&c.* They made some propositions to the black general while we were here, but his demands were so exorbitant, that they would not comply with them; tho' since I understood that the fort was deliver'd to them, upon signing an instrument, to quit all pretensions of reparation, or satisfaction, from the black general and his accomplices, for seizing the castle, and for the merchandize and 50 marks of gold that were in it, at the time of seizure, and pay down 50 marks of gold more upon delivery of the castle; all which they perform'd, and having resettled it, went for *Whidaw* to purchase slaves, and in their voyage thence to the *West-Indies*, put into the island of *Princes* for water, where *Avery* the pyrate fell in with them, fought, took, plunder'd, and burnt them, which was the unhappy end of their voyage. The poor *Danish* general went from us aboard his country-men, but not without reluctancy, and fear of being harshly treated in *Denmark*; but it seems *Long Ben* (as they call'd that rogue *Avery*) prevented that.

Captain Shurley dies.

Capt. *Thomas Shurley*, commander of the *East-India Merchant*, my consort, departed this life here, having been long sick of a fever and flux; he was handsomely bury'd in *Acra* castle, *a la Soldado*, his own ship firing guns at half a minute distance, during the time the corpse was rowing ashore: Mr. *Bloome*, myself, Mr. *Buckrige*, and the chief of the *Dutch* factory, held up the pall; after he was bury'd, according to the service of the church of *England*, his own ship fired 30 guns, the

Hannibal 26, *Acra* fort 20, and the *Dutch* and blacks fort 16 each: He was very averſe to making a will, and took it amiſs when I urg'd him to it; he left the command of his ſhip to his firſt mate, Mr. *Clay*, and as to his own concerns, ſaid his purſer, Mr. *Price*, knew how all lay.

Acra *fort.* *Acra* fort has about 20 guns, but a thin garriſon, not conſiſting of above 12 white men; it is in form ſquare, having a baſtion or flanker at each angle, on which the cannon are mounted; the ſouth flanker fell down while we were here, the rain having ſoak'd in, and waſh'd away the clay and mortar from the ſtones, for want of lime therein, and were now building it up after the old careleſs rate. The *Dutch* fort of 16 guns, lies about muſket-ſhot from ours, much higher, ſo that it looks into our fort, and would be able to do it a great deal of miſchief, in caſe of a war; for there could no men ply our guns but they could pick off with their ſmall ſhot: The town here is very ſmall, not conſiſting of 20 houſes, but in the inland is grand *Acra*, and other large towns, whence we have a good trade for gold, which is perfectly good and pure; hereabouts there are more lions, tigers, leopards, muſcats, and other ravenous creatures, than in any other parts of *Guiney*, as I was inform'd by Mr. *Bloome*, who had ſent hence a young tiger to Mr. *Ronan* at *Cape Corce*, which was very tame, and he preſented me with, and I kept him in a wooden cage aboard, feeding him with guts of fowls, and other garbage, for he would eat nothing but fleſh; he was ſo very gentle, that any of our white men might play with him thro' the cage with their hands, but at the ſight of the blacks he would be outragious; I have frequently put my hand in his mouth, taken him by the tongue and paw, without offering me the leaſt injury, but wantonly playing, and permitting himſelf to be ſtroak'd like a cat, which he did in all kinds reſemble, but that he was finely ſpotted like a leopard, and about the ſize of an ordinary greyhound, and as ſlender in his limbs and body, but he at length diſcover'd himſelf to be a true tiger, and that there was no changing of nature, as by the ſequel will appear. I had purchas'd two civet-cats, which exactly reſembled one of our foxes, except that their colour was a light grey, being about the ſame ſize; they were kept in wood coops, and fed with flower and water boil'd, but the civetty ſcent they ſo ſtrongly emitted, was ſo offenſive to me, that I never car'd to come near them. We bought ſeveral monkeys, baboons, and parrots, for a piece of eight each of a *Dutch* interloper, who was come from *Angola*, where are accounted the beſt green parrots. PHILLIPS.

May, 1694.

May the 16th. We had a very extraordinary fierce tornado, when riding only by our ſtream anchor, and being near the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, and in her hauſe, leſt we ſhould drive aboard her, if the ſtream cable gave way, my mate let go the beſt bower anchor, by which he rid till the ſtorm was over; then going to heave it up again, the cable broke; the longboat then was ſent upon the buoy, but in heaving a ſtrain, the new buoy-rope, of eight inches, broke alſo; we then ſwept him with a new ſhroud hauſer of ſeven inches, but that broke as the reſt; we ſwept him again with the new end of our ſtream cable of 12 inches, and brought it to the capſtern, and hove the ſhip apeak, then heaving a mighty ſtrain to weigh him, the ſtream cable broke likewiſe, then, as our laſt effort, we reſolved to try what could be done with the ſheet cable, the end of which by the help of negroe divers, we got paſt under the ſhank, then clapt a hitch upon it, which being well ſeiz'd we brought the cable to the geer capſtern, and hove right up and down a great ſtrain, then clapt on ſtoppers, and reſolv'd to let the ſhip bob at him at all night, to waken and looſe the anchor in the ground; having good flat ſervice in the hauſe, we got aboard our ſtream anchor, being now well faſt, and reſolving to venture no more anchors aground here, if we could not get up our beſt bower, having only the ſheet and ſtream anchors to truſt to. *A turnado.*

May the 17th. In the morning we went to work, having the *Eaſt-India Merchant*'s men and boatſwain to aſſiſt us. We brought the ſheet-cable to the geer-capſtern; a violl, with runners and tackles, to our main-capſtern, and had the greateſt ſtrain with both that I ever ſaw, ſteeving in *Turkey* being nothing to it. I expected every minute when ſomething would give way; and immediately the cable broke within three feet of the hauſehold, being a new cable of ſixteen inches, and never wet before. This is the moſt holding ground that ever I knew: We being oblig'd to weigh our ſtream-anchor every night and morning, leſt it ſhould ſettle ſo far into the clay as not to be able to get it up. Few ſhips come here but leave their anchors behind 'em, as we were forc'd now; for having compleated all my buſineſs on ſhore, I ſet ſail, and ſtood off and on all night, to wait for the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, which join'd me next morning: by which time, the current had drove me above four leagues to the eaſt of *Acra*, notwithſtanding I did my beſt to keep up to windward; ſo that

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I was forc'd to part from *Acra* without taking leave of honeſt Mr. *Buckrige* and *Bloome*. The *Eaſt-India Merchant* left her beſt bower-anchor behind as well as I, their cable breaking in weighing it, and not having time to endeavour its recovery.

May the 18th. We ſteer'd all day within two leagues along ſhore, (which is low and very woody) with a brave top-gallant gale at W. S. W.; at twelve at night were off the river of *Volta*, where our water ſhoal'd very much, which occaſion'd us to ſteer off and keep the lead going every glaſs; but when we were over the bank of ſand, (which the violent ſtream of that vaſt river has carry'd with it above three leagues into the ſea) we deepen'd our water again. I was told, that the ſtrength of the current of this river, where it exonerates itſelf, occaſions the water to be freſh at ſea for two or three leagues, and for ſatisfaction, when we were upon the bank againſt the boak of it. I had ſome ſea-water taken up and taſted it, but found it as ſalt as any where elſe.

May the 19th. Steering along ſhore within three leagues, with fine eaſy gale, we ſpy'd a canoe making off towards us, whereupon we lay by and ſtaid for her; when ſhe came aboard the maſter of her brought in three women and four children to ſell, but they ask'd very dear for them, and they were almoſt dead for want of victuals, looking like meer ſkeletons, and ſo weak that they could not ſtand, ſo that they were not worth buying; he promis'd to procure us 2 or 300 ſlaves if we would anchor, come aſhore, and ſtay three or four days, but judging what the others might be, by the ſample he brought us, and being loth to venture aſhore upon his bare word, where we did not uſe to trade, and had no factory, we ſent him away, and purſu'd our voyage; beſides that we were upon the *Alampo* coaſt, which negroes are eſteem'd the worſt and moſt waſhy of any that are brought to the *Weſt-Indies*, and yield the leaſt price; why I know not, for they ſeem as well limb'd and luſty as any other negroes, and the only difference I perceiv'd in them, was, that they are not ſo black as the others, and are all circumcis'd, which no negroes elſe upon the whole coaſt (as I obſerv'd) are: The negroes moſt in demand at *Barbadoes*, are the gold coaſt, or, as they call them, *Cormantines*, which will yield 3 or 4 *l.* a head more then the *Whidaw*, or, as they call them, *Papa* negroes; but theſe are preferr'd before the *Angola*, as they are before the *Alampo*, which are accounted the worſt of all.

Arrival at Whidaw.

May the 20th. This morning about 9 o'clock we arriv'd at *Whidaw*, being about 60 leagues from *Acra* to the eaſt, and let go our anchor in eight fathom water, about two miles off ſhore, and moor'd with our ſtream anchor right againſt the landing place, a little to the weſt of the great thick tuft of trees that looks like a a barn, and other trees at the eaſt end of it, making like a tower. This day got our canoes and all things elſe ready, in order to go aſhore to-morrow to purchaſe our ſlaves.

May the 21ſt. This morning I went aſhore at *Whidaw*, accompany'd by my doctor and purſer, Mr. *Clay*, the preſent Capt. of the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, his doctor and purſer, and about a dozen of our ſeamen for our guard, arm'd, in order here to reſide till we could purchaſe 1300 negroe ſlaves, which was the number we both wanted, to compleat 700 for the *Hannibal*, and 650 for the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, according to our agreement in our charter-parties with the royal *African* company; in procuring which quantity of ſlaves we ſpent about nine weeks, during which time what obſervations my indiſpoſition with convulſions in my head, *&c.* would permit me to make on this country, it's trade, manners, *&c.* are as follow, *viz.*

Whidaw, or *Quedaw*, lies in the latitude of 6° 10′ N. latitude, being the pleaſanteſt country I have ſeen in *Guiney*, conſiſting of champaigns and ſmall aſcending hills, beautify'd with always green ſhady groves of lime, wild orange, and other trees, and irrigated with divers broad freſh rivers, which yield plenty of good fiſh; towards the ſea-ſhore it is very marſhy, and has divers large ſwamps.

The factory

Our factory lies about three miles from the ſea-ſide, where we were carry'd in hamocks, which the factor Mr. *Joſeph Peirſon*, ſent to attend our landing, with ſeveral arm'd blacks that belong'd to him for our guard; we were ſoon truſs'd in a bag, toſs'd upon negroes heads, and convey'd to our factory; and this way of travelling being rarely uſed any where except in *Africa*, I think it may not be amiſs to give ſome deſcription of it.

Manner of travelling in hamocks.

The hamock is a large cloth made of cotton generally, but the factors have them very fine of ſilk, or broad-cloth; it's about nine foot long, and ſix or ſeven broad, ſlung at both ends with ſeveral ſmall cords or ribbands, which draw up the ends of the hamock like a purſe; at the end of which is a nooſe fitted to ſlip over the ends of a pole, about nine foot long, which cloth or hamock the traveller gets into, and either lies along or ſits as he is diſpos'd, then he is mounted on the heads of two negroes, which have ſmall rolls of linnen

betwixt

betwixt the ends of the pole and their heads, and away they will walk and run as faſt as moſt horſes can trot, chearfully ſinging in parts to each other till they are quite tyr'd, when, upon notice given, they are reliev'd by two freſh, and they in courſe by two more, there always being ſix negroes to attend the hamock, which are ſtil'd hamock-men; and of theſe there are ſeveral ſets, like our hackney's, to be lett at eaſy rates, to ſuch as are not able to keep ſets of their own, as the cappaſhiers and great men do, who uſe often to compliment us with their hamocks, to carry us from the king's town to our factory, which uſe to coſt us more than if they were hir'd, their ſlaves inceſſantly importuning and dunning us for brandy and other daſhes, which for our quiet's ſake we were forc'd to give them, tho' they reap'd but ſmall benefit thereby, their patroons taking all from them at their return. This country admits of no other kind of travelling for *Europeans*, by reaſon of the extraordinary and violent heat of the ſun, in which an *Engliſhman* can ſcarcely walk half a mile without fainting; but the hamock travelling relieves us much; for as we ſit or lie in that, there is a thin cloth thrown over the pole, which keeps the ſun heat of, and lying down hollow on each ſide the hamock, with the motion of the negroes, attracts a fine cooling air; I have often taken pleaſant naps in them travelling, and the generality of people in the *Weſt-Indies* ſleep in them of nights.

When any cappaſhier or man of punčto travels, he has ten or a dozen blacks, with guns, to attend his hamock, making great huzzaings according to their way, and firing along the road; and when arriv'd at his journey's end they fire a volley, which is the utmoſt of his grandeur.

Here are ſome horſes, but very ſmall, wild, and of no uſe but to eat, which the negroes do greedily, as well as dog's fleſh, eſteeming the laſt their greateſt dainty.

Our factory, built by Capt. *Wiburne*, Sir *John Wiburne*'s brother, ſtands low near the marſhes, which renders it a very unhealthy place to live in; the white men the *African* company ſend there, ſeldom returning to tell their tale: 'tis compaſs'd round with a mud-wall, about ſix foot high, and on the ſouth-ſide is the gate; within is a large yard, a mud thatch'd houſe, where the factor lives, with the white men; alſo a ſtore-houſe, a trunk for ſlaves, and a place where they bury their dead white men, call'd, very improperly, the hog-yard; there is alſo a good forge, and ſome other ſmall houſes: To the eaſt are two ſmall flankers of mud, with a few pop-guns and harquebuſſes, which ſerve more to terrify the poor ignorant negroes than to do any execution; while we were here the factor made a wide deep ditch, round the factory, and had my carpenters to make a draw-bridge over it, which has render'd it now pretty ſecure; for before it was enterable every rainy time, the walls being waſh'd down, and when the rains were over, built up again. And here I muſt obſerve that the rainy ſeaſon begins about the middle of *May*, and ends the beginning of *Auguſt*, in which ſpace it was my misfortune to be there, which created ſickneſſes among my negroes aboard, it being noted for the moſt malignant ſeaſon by the blacks themſelves, who while the rains laſt, will hardly be prevail'd upon to ſtir out of their huts, and myſelf and poor men found it ſo by dear experience, the rains that fall down then being more like fountains then drops, and as hot as if warm'd over a fire. PHILLIPS. May, 1694.

Unwholſomneſs of the rainy ſeaſon.

The factory is about 200 yards in circumference, and a moſt wretched place to live in, by reaſon of the ſwamps adjacent, whence proceed noiſome ſtinks, and vaſt ſwarms of little flies, call'd muſketoes, which are ſo intolerably troubleſome, that if one does not take opium, laudanum, or ſome other ſoporifick, 'tis impoſſible to get any ſleep in the night; and that one I lay there was the moſt uneaſy that I ever felt, for I had not lain down above an hour in the factor's bed, but I was ſo vex'd and tormented by thoſe little malicious animals, that I was forced to get up again, and dreſs myſelf, put gloves on my hands, and tie a handkerchief over my face till day-light, which notwithſtanding theſe troubleſome devils would ſting thro'; and the place ſo ſtung would be much inflam'd, and riſe into a knob, much provoking the exerciſe of a man's nails; and had king *James* the firſt been there ſome time, he would have been convinc'd that ſcratching where it itches was not the greateſt pleaſure in the world, as 'tis ſaid was his opinion. The beſt means I could find to allay the inflammation, was to rub the parts affected with lime-juice, or vinegar, which tho' for the preſent it produced a ſmart, the eaſe it gave, in a ſhort time, made abundant recompence; therefore to ſhun the ſpight of this curſed little flie as much as we can, as well as to give us ſome cool air, (that which is confin'd in a cloſe place in this country, appearing as intenſely hot to an *European*, as if he ſuck'd in the heat at the mouth of an oven in *England*) we have negro boys to fan us all night with large fans made of skins. This factory ſeated as 'tis, proved very beneficial to us, by houſing our goods which came aſhore late, and could not arrive at the king's town (where

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(where I kept my warehouſe) ere it was dark, when they would be very incident to be pilfer'd by the negro porters which carry them, at which they are moſt exquiſite; for in the day-time they would ſteal the cowries, altho' our white men that attended the goods from the marine watched them, they having inſtruments like wedges, made on purpoſe to force aſunder the ſtaves of the barrels, that contain'd the cowries, whereby the ſhells dropt out; and when any of our ſeamen that watch'd the goods came near ſuch porters, they would take out their machine, and the ſtaves would inſenſibly cloſe again, ſo that no hole did appear, having always their wives and children running by them to carry off the plunder, which with all our threats and complaints made to the king, we could not prevent, tho' we often beat them cruelly, and piniar'd ſome, but it was all one, what was bred in the bone, *&c.* whatever we could do would not make them forbear.

The factory prov'd beneficial to us in another kind; for after we had procured a parcel of ſlaves, and ſent them down to the ſea-ſide to be carry'd off, it ſometimes proved bad weather, and ſo great a ſea, that the canoes could not come aſhore to fetch them, ſo that they returned to the factory, where they were ſecured and provided for till good weather preſented, and then were near to embrace the opportunity, we ſometimes ſhipping off a hundred of both ſexes at a time.

The factor, Mr. *Peirſon*, was a brisk man, and had good intereſt with the king, and credit with the ſubjects, who knowing their tempers, which is very daſtard, had good skill in treating them both civil and rough, as occaſion requir'd; moſt of his ſlaves belonging to the factory, being gold coaſt negroes, who are very bold, brave, and ſenſible, ten of which would beat the beſt forty men the king of *Whidaw* had in his kingdom; beſides their true love, reſpect and fidelity to their maſter, for whoſe intereſt or perſon they will moſt freely expoſe their own lives.

From the factory to the king's town is about four miles, thro' very pleaſant fields, full of *India* and *Guiney* corn, potatoes, yams, in great plenty, of which they have two harveſts yearly.

On the road to the king's town are ſeveral little villages, or parcels of houſes, which the negroes call crooms, and have each of them a captain, few of the houſes being above five yards high, having no light but at the door, except the chief houſes, which may have a hole bor'd thro' the walls; they are much like our ſheep-houſes in *Wales*, having for moſt part but one room, where they eat and ſleep together, the generality on the bare ground; the cappaſheirs may have a mat ſpread under them, and a ſtone or hard bundle for a pillow. As ſoon as the king underſtood of our landing, he ſent two of his cappaſheirs, or noblemen, to compliment us at our factory, where we deſign'd to continue that night, and pay our devoirs to his majeſty next day, which we ſignify'd to them, and they, by a foot-expreſs, to their monarch; whereupon he ſent two more of his grandees to invite us there that night, ſaying he waited for us, and that all former captains uſed to attend him the firſt night: whereupon, being unwilling to infringe the cuſtom, or give his majeſty any offence, we took our hamocks, and Mr. *Peirſon*, myſelf, Capt. *Clay*, our ſurgeons, purſers, and about 12 men arm'd for our guard, were carry'd to the king's town, which contains about 50 houſes. When we came to the palace (which was the meaneſt I ever ſaw, being low mud walls, the roof thatch'd, the floor the bare ground, with ſome pools of water and dirt in it) we were met at the entrance by ſeveral cappaſheirs, with the uſual ceremony of clapping their hands, and taking and ſhaking us by ours, with great demonſtration of affection: when we enter'd the palace-yard they all fell on their knees near the door of the room where the king was, clapping their hands, knocking the ground with their foreheads, and kiſſing it, which they repeated three times, being their uſual ceremony when they approach'd his majeſty, we ſtanding and obſerving till they had done; then riſing, they led us to the room where the king was, which we found cover'd with his nobility upon their knees, and thoſe that introduced us fell on theirs, and crawl'd to their ſeveral ſtations, and ſo they continued all the time we were with the king then, and all other times when we ſaw him.

Viſit to the king.

When we were enter'd, the king peep'd upon us from behind a curtain, and beckon'd us to him; whereupon we approach'd cloſe to his throne, which was of clay, rais'd about two foot from the ground, and about ſix foot ſquare, ſurrounded with old dirty curtains, always drawn 'twixt him and his cappaſheirs, whom he will not allow the ſight of his handſome phiz. He had two or three little black children with him, and was ſmoaking tobacco in a long wooden pipe, the bole of which, I dare ſay, would hold an ounce, and reſted upon his throne, with a bottle of brandy and a little dirty ſilver cup by his ſide; his head was tied about with a roll of coarſe callicoe, and he had a looſe gown of red damask to cover him; he

he has gowns and mantles of rich ſilver and gold brocaded ſilks, trimm'd with flowers of ſmall party-colour'd beads, which were preſents made him, as he told us, by white captains, who traded there, and his variety of which he often ſhew'd us; but he never wore ſhirt, ſhoe, nor ſtocking, in his life.

We ſaluted him with our hats, and he took us by the hands, ſnapt our fingers, and told us we were very welcome, that he was glad to ſee us, that he long'd for it, and that he lov'd *Engliſhmen* dearly, that we were his brothers, and that he would do us all the good offices he could; we returned him thanks by his interpreter, and aſſur'd him how great affection our maſters, the royal *African* company of *England*, bore to him, for his civility and fair and juſt dealing with their captains; and that notwithſtanding there were many other places, more plenty of negroe ſlaves that begg'd their cuſtom, yet they had rejected all the advantageous offers made them out of their good will to him, and therefore had ſent us to trade with him, to ſupply his country with neceſſaries, and that we hop'd he would endeavour to continue their favour by his kind uſage and fair dealing with us in our trade, that we may have our ſlaves with all expedition, which was the making of our voyage; that he would oblige his cappaſheirs to do us juſtice, and not impoſe upon us in their prices; all which we ſhould faithfully relate to our maſters, the royal *African* company, when we came to *England*. He anſwer'd, that the *African* company was a very good brave man; that he lov'd him; that we ſhould be fairly dealt with, and not impos'd upon: But he did not prove as good as his word; nor indeed (tho' his cappaſheirs ſhew him ſo much reſpect) dare he do any thing but what they pleaſe.

He deſir'd us to ſit down upon a bench cloſe by him, which we did; then he drank to us his brother the king of *England*'s health, the *African* company's, our welcome, *&c.* in brandy, and pitto, which *Pitto.* is a pleaſant liquor made of *Indian* corn, ſoak'd in water, ſome ſo ſtrong that it will keep three months, and two quarts will fuddle a man; it drinks much like new ale. We had not ſtaid long before there came a repaſt on a little ſquare table, with an old ſheet for cloth, old batter'd pewter plates and ſpoons, with a large pewter baſon of the ſame hue with his majeſty's complection, fill'd with ſtew'd fowls and broth, and a wooden bowl of boil'd potatoes to ſerve inſtead of bread; we had no napkins, knives, nor forks, laid us, nor do they ever uſe any, but always tear their meat; and indeed we had no occaſion for any, for our fowls were boil'd to ſuch maſh, that they would not bear carving. We had no great ſtomach to our dainties, however, in complaiſance to his majeſty, we ſupp'd two or three ſpoonfuls of the broth, which was very well reliſh'd with malagetta and red pepper; we often drank to the king out of a cup made of a cocoa-nut ſhell, which was all the plate I ſaw he had, except a little ſilver dram cup. He would bow to us, kiſs his hand, and burſt out often in loud ſcreaming laughter. When we had ſignify'd to his majeſty that we had ſatisfy'd our ſtomachs with his dainties, he gave ſome of the fowls out of the broth, with his own hands, to the little children that were with him, and the reſt among his nobles, who ſcrambled for it on their bellies like ſo many dogs, making ſpoons of their hands, which they would dip into the broth, and then lick'd them, which ſight did affect my ſtomach ſo much, (tho' it is not very nice) that I had much ado to refrain making them an addition of what I had eaten. Phillips. May, 1694.

When they had done, the king ask'd for Capt. *Shurley*, and we acquainted him that he died upon the gold coaſt at *Acra*, when of a ſudden his note was chang'd from laughing to a loud howling and crying, wringing his hands and often wiping his eyes, (tho' no tears came out) ſaying that *Shurley* was his great friend; that he was exceedingly troubled for his death, and that the gold coaſt negroes had given him ſomething to drink which kill'd him; then he told us of mortar pieces, pictures, ſilks, and many other things, Capt. *Shurley* promis'd to bring him for preſents: when Mr. *Clay* told him there were no ſuch things on board, he ſeem'd to be angry, and told *Clay* that he was ſure they were brought, but becauſe *Shurley* was dead he would keep them for himſelf; but to appeaſe him we promis'd to preſent him with blunderbuſſes, ſilks, *&c.* which we had from the royal *African* company for that purpoſe; ſo after having examin'd us about our cargoe, what ſort of goods we had, and what quantity of ſlaves we wanted, *&c.* we took our leaves and return'd to the factory, having promiſed to come in the morning to make our palavera, or agreement, with him about prices, how much of each ſort of our goods for a ſlave.

According to promiſe we attended his majeſty with ſamples of our goods, and made our agreement about the prices, tho' not without much difficulty; he and his cappaſheirs exacted very high, but at length we concluded as *per* the latter end; then we had warehouſes, a kitchen, and lodgings aſſign'd us, but none of our rooms had

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had doors till we made them, and put on locks and keys; next day we paid our cuſtoms to the king and cappaſheirs, as will appear hereafter; then the bell was order'd to go about to give notice to all people to bring their ſlaves to the trunk to ſell us: this bell is a hollow piece of iron in ſhape of a ſugar loaf, the cavity of which would contain about 50 lb. of cowries: This a man carry'd about and beat with a ſtick, which made a ſmall dead ſound.

We were every morning, during our ſtay here, invited to breakfaſt with the king, where we always found the ſame diſh of ſtew'd fowls and potatoes; he alſo would ſend us a hog, goat, ſheep, or pot of pitto every day for our table, and we uſually return'd his civility with three or four bottles of brandy, which is his *ſummum bonum*: We had our cook aſhore, and eat as well as we could, proviſions being plenty and cheap; but we ſoon loſt our ſtomachs by ſickneſs, moſt of my men having fevers, and myſelf ſuch convulſions and aches in my head, that I could hardly ſtand or go to the trunk without aſſiſtance, and there often fainted with the horrid ſtink of the negroes, it being an old houſe where all the ſlaves are kept together, and evacuate nature where they lie, ſo that no jakes can ſtink worſe: there being forced to ſit three or four hours at a time, quite ruin'd my health, but there was no help.

Capt. *Clay* and I had agreed to go to the trunk to buy the ſlaves by turns, each his day, that we might have no diſtraction or diſagreement in our trade, as often happens when there are here more ſhips than one, and the commanders can't ſet their horſes together, and go hand in hand in their traffick, whereby they have a check upon the blacks, whereas their diſagreements create animoſities, underminings, and out-bidding each other, whereby they enhance the prices to their general loſs and detriment, the blacks well knowing how to make the beſt uſe of ſuch opportunities, and as we found make it their buſineſs, and endeavour to create and foment miſunderſtandings and jealouſies between commanders, it turning to their great account in the diſpoſal of their ſlaves.

When we were at the trunk, the king's ſlaves, if he had any, were the firſt offer'd to ſale, which the cappaſheirs would be very urgent with us to buy, and would in a manner force us to it ere they would ſhew us any other, ſaying they were the *Reys Coſa*, and we muſt not refuſe them, tho' as I obſerv'd they were generally the worſt ſlaves in the trunk, and we paid more for them than any others, which we could not remedy, it being one of his majeſty's prerogatives; then the cappaſheirs each brought out his ſlaves according to his degree and quality, the greateſt firſt, *&c.* and our ſurgeon examin'd them well in all kinds, to ſee that they were ſound wind and limb, making them jump, ſtretch out their arms ſwiftly, looking in their mouths to judge of their age; for the cappaſheirs are ſo cunning, that they ſhave them all cloſe before we ſee them, ſo that let them be never ſo old we can ſee no grey hairs in their heads or beards; and then having liquor'd them well and ſleek with palm oil, 'tis no eaſy matter to know an old one from a middle-age one, but by the teeths decay; but our greateſt care of all is to buy none that are pox'd, leſt they ſhould infect the reſt aboard; for tho' we ſeparate the men and women aboard by partitions and bulk-heads, to prevent quarrels and wranglings among them, yet do what we can they will come together, and that diſtemper which they call the yaws, is very common here, and diſcovers itſelf by almoſt the ſame ſymptoms as the *Lues Venerea* or clap does with us; therefore our ſurgeon is forc'd to examine the privities of both men and women, with the niceſt ſcrutiny, which is a great ſlavery, but what can't be omitted: When we had ſelected from the reſt ſuch as we liked, we agreed in what goods to pay for them, the prices being already ſtated before the king, how much of each ſort of merchandize we were to give for a man, woman, and child, which gave us much eaſe, and ſaved abundance of diſputes and wranglings, and gave the owner a note, ſignifying our agreement of the ſorts of goods; upon delivery of which the next day he receiv'd them; then we mark'd the ſlaves we had bought in the breaſt, or ſhoulder, with a hot iron, having the letter of the ſhip's name on it, the place being before anointed with a little palm oil, which caus'd but little pain, the mark being uſually well in four or five days, appearing very plain and white after.

When we had purchas'd to the number of 50 or 60 we would ſend them aboard, there being a cappaſheir, intitled the captain of the ſlaves, whoſe care it was to ſecure them to the water-ſide, and ſee them all off; and if in carrying to the marine any were loſt, he was bound to make them good, to us, the captain of the trunk being oblig'd to do the like, if any run away while under his care, for after we buy them we give him charge of them till the captain of the ſlaves comes to carry them away: Theſe are two officers appointed by the king for this purpoſe, to each of which every ſhip pays the value of a ſlave in what goods they like beſt for their trou-

ble,

ble, when they have done trading; and indeed they diſcharg'd their duty to us very faithfully, we not having loſt one ſlave thro' their neglect in 1300 we bought here.

There is likewiſe a captain of the ſand, who is appointed to take care of the merchandize we have come aſhore to trade with, that the negroes do not plunder them, we being often forced to leave goods a whole night on the ſea ſhore, for want of porters to bring them up; but notwithſtanding his care and authority, we often came by the loſs, and could have no redreſs.

When our ſlaves were come to the ſea-ſide, our canoes were ready to carry them off to the longboat, if the ſea permitted, and ſhe convey'd them aboard ſhip, where the men were all put in irons, two and two ſhackled together, to prevent their mutiny, or ſwimming aſhore.

The negroes are ſo wilful and loth to leave their own country, that they have often leap'd out of the canoes, boat and ſhip, into the ſea, and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up and ſaved by our boats, which purſued them; they having a more dreadful apprehenſion of *Barbadoes* than we can have of hell, tho' in reality they live much better there than in their own country; but home is home, *&c*: we have likewiſe ſeen divers of them eaten by the ſharks, of which a prodigious number kept about the ſhips in this place, and I have been told will follow her hence to *Barbadoes*, for the dead negroes that are thrown over-board in the paſſage. I am certain in our voyage there we did not want the ſight of ſome every day, but that they were the ſame I can't affirm.

We had about 12 negroes did wilfully drown themſelves, and others ſtarv'd themſelves to death; for 'tis their belief that when they die they return home to their own country and friends again.

I have been inform'd that ſome commanders have cut off the legs or arms of the moſt wilful, to terrify the reſt, for they believe if they loſe a member, they cannot return home again: I was advis'd by ſome of my officers to do the ſame, but I could not be perſwaded to entertain the leaſt thoughts of it, much leſs to put in practice ſuch barbarity and cruelty to poor creatures, who, excepting their want of chriſtianity and true religion, (their misfortune more than fault) are as much the works of God's hands, and no doubt as dear to him as ourſelves; nor can I imagine why they ſhould be deſpis'd for their colour, being what they cannot help, and the effect of the climate it has pleas'd God to appoint them. I can't think there is any intrinſick value in one colour more than another, nor that white is better than black, only we think it ſo becauſe we are ſo, and are prone to judge favourably in our own caſe, as well as the blacks, who in odium of the colour, ſay, the devil is white, and ſo paint him. PHILLIPS. May, 1694.

Near the king's palace on one ſide is a town, conſiſting of about 40 houſes wall'd round, in which are kept the king's wives, to whom none are admitted but an old cappaſheir, who is captain of them; and the king himſelf. I have been aſſur'd by the interpreter here, Capt. *Tom*, (who is a ſenſible gold-coaſt negroe, and liv'd a long time with one of our factors, as his boy, and thereby learnt the *Engliſh* language, and is now one of the greateſt men in the king of *Whidaw*'s court) that the number of the king's wives are near 3000; and conſidering the cuſtom of that country, it's very probable, for each cappaſheir has from 10 to 20 wives, more or leſs, as he pleaſes, and can maintain; all which, together with his goods, fall to the king at his death, there being no regard had to his children, they having nothing but what is privately convey'd away by ſtealth during their father's ſickneſs, nor do the king's ſons after grown to any ſtature come near him but in private, for fear of giving umbrage to the great cappaſheirs, who expect next to be elected king, and to them the king's ſons give as much reſpect as the meaneſt ſubject: When the king dies all his wives and eſtate fall to the next king by election. The preſent king often, when ſhips are in a great ſtrait for ſlaves, and cannot be ſupply'd otherwiſe, will ſell 3 or 400 of his wives to compleat their number, but we always pay dearer for his ſlaves than thoſe bought of the cappaſheirs, his meaſure for booges being much larger than theirs, and he was allow'd accordingly in all other goods we had.

For every ſlave the cappaſheirs ſold us publickly, they were oblig'd to pay part of the goods they receiv'd for it to the king, as toll or cuſtom, eſpecially the booges, of which he would take a ſmall diſh-full out of each meaſure; to avoid this they would privately ſend for us to their houſes in the night, and diſpoſe of two or three ſlaves at a time, and we as privately would ſend them the goods agreed upon for them; but this they did not much practiſe for fear of offending the king, ſhould he come to know it, who enjoyns them to carry all their ſlaves to be ſold publickly at the trunk with his own; ſometimes after he had ſold one of his wives or ſubjects, he would relent, and deſire us to exchange for another, which we

PHILLIPS. May, 1694. *Marriages of blacks.*

we freely did often, and he took very kindly.

Their marriages are as in the primitive times. When a man fancies a young woman he applies himſelf to her father, and deſires her for wife, which is ſeldom refus'd; then he gives her a fine cloth, and bracelets and necklaces of rangoes mix'd with coral for her arms and neck; invites her friends and his to a treat of pitto, and the ceremony is over, never having a farthing portion with her.

Their women are moſt employ'd in making *Whidaw* cloths, mats, baskets, canchy, pitto, and in planting and ſowing their corn, yams, potatoes, *&c.* The *Whidaw* cloth is about two yards long, and about a quarter of a yard broad, three ſuch being commonly joyn'd together. It is of divers colours, but generally white and blue. For a pound of leaf tobacco, be it never ſo rotten and bad, we could buy one of theſe cloths, which would yield a crown in *Barbadoes*; alſo one for eight knives, value prime coſt eighteen pence. To make theſe cloths, eſpecially the blue ſtreaks, they unravel moſt of the ſayes and perpetuanoes we ſell them.

Cloſe by the king's palace is an old rotten houſe he calls his armory, wherein are ſix old iron minion guns, about five hundred weight each, moſt diſmounted and much out of kelter. Theſe he values himſelf much upon, tho' they are fit for no ſervice, but to create an eſteem and dread in his poor ignorant ſubjects, by firing them ſometimes as they lie upon the ground, which was done to welcome us upon our firſt arrival. His phyſician and gunner is a *Portugueze* negroe, and pretends to be a chriſtian, and is called *John Fernando*. He can neither write nor read; however, he makes theſe poor people think him a brave fellow. When we firſt came here, he accoſted us, and, in broken *Engliſh*, deſir'd us to tell the king, That he was a good gunner, and he would ſerve us in all kinds, which (he pretending to be a chriſtian) we promiſed; and it was not unpleaſant to ſee with what impudence he would brag of his ſkill to the king, having had our promiſe not to detect him, which he would, by a wink, often put us in mind of.

Wars. The *Whidawers* are conſtantly at wars with the *Arda* and *Allampo* men, the *Quambooers* and *Achims*, and all the plunder is men and women to ſell for ſlaves. I have ſeen nine or ten bags full of men, women, and childrens heads at a time brought to the king's town, when the ſoldiers return'd from ravaging, which they in great ſcorn and diſdain would fling and kick about, with ſhoutings for joy of their ſucceſs againſt their enemies: and there are few of them but have a jawbone or piece of ſcull of ſome great man they ſay they have kill'd, hanging at the handle of their ſwords, which much reſembles one of our pruning bills.

About the year 1692. the king of *Whidaw* was in great dread of one *Afferry*, a neighbouring prince, and a brave bold warrior, who us'd to trade with the *Europeans* on the *Allampo* coaſt for ſlaves, and I have been told was in great eſteem with them, being of a more generous and noble diſpoſition than is uſual among the negroes. Upon ſome diſguſt this *Afferry* made wars with the *Whidawers*, gain'd many battles over them, and declar'd, before he would ſheath his ſword, he would have the old *Whidaw* king's head and country, which put the old monarch in great terror; and finding his forces not able to withſtand this furious invader, reſolv'd to piece out the lion's ſkin with the fox's tail, and what he could not effect by ſtrength, to accompliſh by treachery: to which purpoſe he ſet all his engines at work; and at length, by frequent and large preſents, and larger promiſes, corrupted two negroes in *Afferry*'s army to poiſon their gallant leader; who being ignorant of ſuch baſe degenerate practices himſelf, was the leſs ſuſpicious of others; and without any apprehenſion ſwallow'd the fatal doſe, which put a period to all his conqueſts, and he died by the villainy of two mercenary traitors of his own, who ſlighted the appearance of the greateſt *Whidaw* army in open field, and thereby the old trembling *Whidawer* was ſecur'd on his throne; tho', when I was there, I obſerv'd, he could not hear his name mention'd without ſome conſternation upon his ſpirits. And, ſince 'tis come in my way, I ſhall inſert all that, by the ſtricteſt inquiry, I could learn concerning their poiſoning, ſo much dreaded and talk'd of in the world.

Poiſoning. I have taken one cappaſheir at a time privately to my warehouſe, where, after I had well warm'd him with brandy and other ſtrong liquors (the key of moſt ſecrets) expreſs'd abundance of kindneſs to him, and made him ſome preſents, I have deſir'd him to be very ingenuous and free with me, and give me a full account how, in what manner, and with what they uſe to poiſon the white men that were not good, as I term'd them, to induce them to the greater freedom; if it was a common practice in their country, and what antidote they knew moſt prevalent to diſpel the malignity. All that I could ſcrew from them, was, that there was

was poiſon to be bought far up in the inland countries, but that it was ſo dear, that as much as would ſerve to poiſon a man would coſt the value of three or four ſlaves; that it was their common way, as they were inform'd, to do it in water or other liquor the party drank; that generally the ſmall ball of poiſon was ſtuck under the nail of their little finger (which indeed they wear at a great length) and inſenſibly drop'd into the callibaſh or cup drunk out of, and it would inſtantly diſſolve, and was of that prodigious ſtrength, that nothing would prevail againſt the venom if it was right made. They added, That they never knew it practiſed in that country, and believ'd the chief reaſon was the ſcarcity and dearneſs of it. When I was firſt with the king, I deſir'd he would order and take care that we ſhould have no foul play offer'd us by poiſon; at which he laugh'd, and ſaid there was no ſuch thing in his dominions; tho' we could obſerve, that he was ſo cautious himſelf, that he would not drink out of the ſame cup as we and his cappaſheirs did all the time we were there, but kept a little ſilver one by his ſide on purpoſe; nor would he taſte of our brandy out of the bottle till we drank firſt; but his cappaſheirs were not ſo ſqueamiſh, but would drink out of any cup, or any liquor we would give them; and we ſeldom fail'd of their cuſtom three or four times a day, when they muſt each have a large glaſs of brandy, which they drank as freely as we do claret. When we went to the trunk we were oblig'd always to carry three or four bottles of brandy to drink at our bargains; and they would often beg brandy of us under pretence they had married a new wife, and muſt make merry, which we always gave them to keep them in good temper. And here I cannot forget a ſtory of the uxorious old king of *Whidaw*, who ſent for me one night to come privately to him; which having done, he told me that he had married a pretty young girl that he had a great kindneſs for, and was that night to bed her, and therefore deſir'd me to preſent him with a rundlet of brandy to give her friends to be merry with, and to order my doctor to preſcribe him ſomething to make him luſty, and perform his taſk vigorouſly; but to be ſure that what he gave him ſhould do him no harm. Being willing to indulge him in his humour, I promis'd the brandy, and that I would order my doctor to attend him; and if he gave him any thing, he would pawn his life it ſhould not damage him; whereupon I took leave, and wiſh'd him a merry chriſtmas. I ſent the brandy and my ſurgeon to him, who gave him a doſe of *Spaniſh* flies, which ſo heated the old man's reins, that next morning he bragg'd to us, that he never had a pleaſanter night, nor behaved himſelf more gallantly, making large harangues upon the charms of his miſtreſs, and other impertinences relating to his laſt night's adventure. He gave the doctor many thanks, and preſented him with two good cloths. PHILLIPS. May, 1694.

In the iſland of St. *Thomas*, lying under the equator, ſubject to *Portugal*, the inhabitants are ſo exquiſite at poiſoning, that it has been affirm'd to me, they will cut meat from the ſame joynt, with the ſame knife; that piece they carve their enemy ſhall be poiſon'd, the reſt not, one ſide of the knife only being poiſon'd. How true this is I know not; but I verily believe the *Portuguze* in theſe iſlands to be greater rogues and villains than the negroes are, being moſt of them banditti, baniſh'd *Portugal* for murders and other heinous crimes; but when I touch'd there in my paſſage to *Barbadoes*, I cannot ſay that either myſelf or men receiv'd any injury in that kind.

Proviſions at *Whidaw* are good and plenty, *viz.* cows and hogs; the firſt very ſmall, ſold for five, ſix, or ſeven bars of iron each, value about twenty ſhillings in *England*. The hogs are large, and make excellent pork, it eating ſweeter and whiter than ours in *England*. And indeed it cannot but be good, for the poorer ſort of negroes have more regard to their hogs than to themſelves, and feed them better. For a well-grown well-fed hog we uſe to give ſeven bars, which went as far in victualling our men aboard, as two kine of five and ſix bars each. Here are goats and ſheep, but very ſmall and poor; alſo ſome tame fowl of the bigneſs of our chickens, of which we could buy three or four for a gullina of cowries, or one for a knife. Here are ſome *Muſcovia* ducks, but not in that plenty they are upon the gold coaſt. The freſh rivers afford ſtore of good fiſh; ſome very large, of which the king would often preſent us. The negroes admire dog fleſh before any other, of which I have ſeen many very fat brought to market to be ſold. Their bread is made of *Indian* or *Guiney* corn ground, which they do between two ſtones call'd the *Cancy* ſtones, and *Rubber*, and is made as follows. Firſt they place the cancy ſtone, which is ſmooth and broad, ſhelving in a frame; then put on it thirty or forty grains of *Indian* corn after it has lain ſome time ſoaking in water;

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ter; then with the rubber (which is a ſmall ſtone big enough for one to graſp in his hand) they bruiſe the corn, and continue rubbing it till it is reduc'd to a meal (much as our painters grind their paint, often ſprinkling water thereon to moiſten it. Of the ſaid meal temper'd with water they make round lumps like dumplins, which they boil in an earthen crock, or bake o'er the fire on an iron or ſtone; and this they call cancy, which, with a little palm oil, and a callibaſh of pitto, a few yams or potatoes, is the diet of the generality.

At *Whidaw* are ſeveral fairs or markets, but the largeſt is about a mile from the king'stown, to the N. E. in the fields, under a tuft of trees, where twice a-week, I think on *Wedneſdays* and *Saturdays*, there is a great congreſs of men, women, and children. Their chief wares to ſell are *Whidaw* cloths, mats, baſkets, jars for pitto, callibaſhes of all kinds, wooden bowls and cups, red and blue pepper, malagetta, ſalt, palm oil, cancy and ſuch ſtuff. In this country the women go ſtark naked as they were born till they are married; then they cover their *pudenda* as a token of it; but 'tis the ſign of a virgin to be bare; and they go ſo without any apprehenſion of ſhame or immodeſty, of which I have ſeen above 200 at a time ſo. The young men do the ſame; ſo that of both ſides they may ſee how they like their tackle before they go to work, and not, as we are forc'd to do, take wives at all adventures, without knowing their bodily defects and infirmities, which are cover'd and conceal'd by their cloaths.

The king's wives have liberty to come to this fair to ſell their cloaths, *&c.* in making of which they employ moſt of their time. When they appear, all other negroes relinquiſh the path; and if any of us happen'd to be walking in their way, they would ſtop, call to us, and make ſigns with their hands for us to go aſide, which we always readily did: and as they paſs'd, they would ſalute us by bowing their heads and kiſſing their hands, laughing often very loud, and ſtaring on us as if we were ſo many monſters.

Myſelf, doctor and purſer once taking a walk with the *French* factor here, came to the king's wives town, and look'd over the wall, and ſaw many of them at work, and ſpake to them, and they in their dialect to us. Then the *Frenchman* (being too forward, as moſt of his countrymen are) went to open the gate, which was faſten'd with withs; whereupon all the women ran ſcreaming away, and immediately came ſome cappaſheirs from the king, and deſir'd us to forbear and come away thence, which we willingly did, but the *Frenchman* could hardly be perſwaded.

Next morning when we came to breakfaſt with the king, he took occaſion to tell us mildly of our miſcarriage, and that it was againſt the laws and cuſtom of his country for any to go near his wives town, but that he excus'd it in us being ſtrangers, and conſequently ignorant, and deſir'd us to deſiſt for the future, which we promis'd, and expreſs'd a concern for having unknowingly diſoblig'd him; but he reſented it highly from the *Frenchman*, who, he ſaid, knew the law, and might have inform'd us, and not led us there, and that he ſhould ſuffer for it. To excuſe the poor *Frenchman* I took all the blame upon myſelf, and aſſur'd the king it was I led him there accidentally; that the *Frenchman* was againſt it, and that I had no other end in looking over the wall, but to ſee what a brave town he had for his wives, that I might give an account of it when I came to *England*; but that none of us would come near it more. Then he took me by the hand, and ſaid, If that was all, he was ſorry he had mention'd it, and would not be angry with the *Frenchman.*

This poor *French* factor and a ſecond live in a little mud houſe near the king's. There had not been a *French* ſhip there in three or four years, ſo that they were much dejected and poor, having no livelihood but from the king's bounty, and no opportunity to go thence. They din'd with us almoſt every day, and I gave them ſome proviſions, and offer'd them their paſſage *gratis* to *Barbadoes*, whence they might ſoon get paſſage to *Martinico*; but fearing the uſage they might meet with at *Barbadoes*, being enemies, they would not venture.

Near the king's town are thirty or forty large trees planted in ſome order and line; and there is the pleaſanteſt walk in that country, the branches being ſo thick that they keep the ſun off, and attract a fine cooling air. Under theſe trees I ſpent moſt of my time while I ſtaid, where there was a ſmall market kept; and, among other things in it, I obſerv'd an ordinary, which, for the novelty of it, I ſhall deſcribe.

An ordinary.

It was kept at the foot of one of the largeſt trees: the maſter thereof had for a table a piece of flat wood, about a yard diameter, which was placed on the ground. The meat was beef and dog fleſh boiled, wrap'd up in a raw cow hide, and placed on one ſide, and an earthen crock with boiled cancies in it, to

ſerve

ſerve for bread on the other. When any one came to eat, he would down on his knees by the table, and lay eight or nine cowry ſhells thereon; then the cook would very dexterouſly cut him the value of what he pitched on in ſmall bits, and give him his piece of cancy and ſome ſalt; if that did not ſatisfy his ſtomach, he would lay down more ſhells, and accordingly have more meat. I have ſeen eight or nine round his table at once, and he ſerve them all, and receive their money with great dexterity, and without the leaſt confuſion; but there was no need to change money, which was a great eaſe to him. For drink they went to the river; nor do the negroes uſually drink till after their meat.

Alligators. As to ſtrange beaſts (except the natives) I ſaw none but alligators and ſnakes, tho' they told me there were great ſtore of elephants, lions, tigers, leopards, *&c.* up in the country. Near adjoyning to the king's palace are two pretty large ponds full of alligators, which the king highly eſteems as a piece of great magnificence. Of theſe I have ſeen ſeveral on the banks of the ponds ſunning themſelves, and others with their ſnouts out of the water. The largeſt I ſaw was not above four yards long, and I think there is nothing they reſemble more in ſhape than a lizard. We have ſometimes thrown a lump of earth (for I don't remember I ſaw a ſtone, except cancy ones that are brought here, in this country) at thoſe on the banks; and when ſtruck they would gape very wide, ſcream out, run to the edge of the pool, and plunge in. We have thrown a dead goat in among them, and they have in an inſtant tore it to pieces, fighting very vigorouſly for it. I would have ſhot at ſome of them with ball, but the negroes would not give me leave; and I was loath to diſguſt them in any kind, leſt they ſhould avenge themſelves by poiſon, which I was in great fear of, they having daily opportunities, for we had all our pitto and water from them. The blacks have a great reſpect for this hideous monſter, it being their neighbour the king of great *Ardas*'s *Fatiſh* or god, as the ſnake is the god of the *Whidawers*: and here are vaſt numbers of ſnakes of a prodigious bigneſs, and black colour, I having ſeen one as big as an ordinary man's thigh. I never heard they were ravenous or did any harm, no more than the alligators in this country; and the blacks aſſur'd me they would not, and that I need not fear them. I have often had the ſnakes in the room where I lay, coming in thro' the holes in the walls and thatch, and ſometimes they have crawl'd upon the bed while I lay in it, which almoſt frighted me out of my ſenſes; but the negroe boys, three or four of which always lay by my bed ſide, upon the leaſt call would come and take them in their arms, and carry them into the next field, and put them down very gently; ſo they would if they ſaw them lying in the paths in our way. They worſhip this type of the devil, and deluder of mankind, with deep devotion here; and I have been told, the killing one has coſt the lives of ſome white men.

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Here are great plenty of turtle doves, in ſhooting of which I had good diverſion when my head-aches would permit. There are a prodigious many monſtrous bats lodge themſelves in the day-time in the great trees afore-mentioned; among which once ſhooting at random with bird ſhot, there drop'd down above a dozen, which were moſt hideouſly deform'd, and as big as one of our black-birds.

Muſick. Their muſick here is much the ſame as to windward, conſiſting of a loud grating bellowing noiſe like a company of bulls or aſs-negroes, which they make thro' hollow elephants teeth, of which four or five joyn'd with one that beats a piece of hollow braſs or iron with a ſtick, makes their diſcord: and to this ridiculous muſick they dance as untowardly, the whole being only an antick continued jumping of one at a time, with odd geſtures of head, arms, and body.

The king had two little dwarfs which would often come begging cowries of us, which we durſt not refuſe them, tho' they deſerv'd hanging more from us; for we were every night conſtantly diſturb'd by them with a moſt unnatural ſort of houling they kept all night under the trees by our lodgings, which we could never prevail with them to forbear upon any terms, they ſaying it was praying for their king to the *Fatiſh*, who often ſpoke to them (and certainly I think all the devils in hell could not make a worſe noiſe) out of a great wooden image by the king's palace, which they had endeavoured to carve like a man, but reſembled more a devil. I having been often told, that that figure ſpoke every night to the cappaſheirs and others its devotees, gave them to underſtand, that I would gladly hear it, and to that end I would go along with them when they pleas'd. They anſwer'd, It was in the night-time it ſpake, and about the uſual time promis'd to call me if I would venture with them. I thank'd them, and aſſured them I would ſit up on purpoſe to expect them. Accordingly about mid-night they came,

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came, and I went with them; but, for fear of tricks, took four of my men with me, well arm'd with piſtols and cutlaſſes. When we arrived at the image they made abundance of profound bows and other reverences to it, while I did nothing but look on, expecting the voice. After I had waited half an hour, I ask'd them why it did not ſpeak? They reply'd, It would ſpeak preſently. I ſtay'd two hours longer, but not a word from the ſtock; at which the blacks ſeem'd to be much ſurpriz'd, ſaying, They never knew it ſo long without ſpeaking before. I began to grow impatient of waiting ſo long, therefore ran the ferrel of my cane into the mouth of it, and turn'd it therein ſeveral times, which they wiſh'd me to forbear for fear it ſhould do me harm. I told them, That I ſaw nothing to be afraid of but a piece of wood, and that if it could ſpeak, I was reſolved to make it. Whereupon I took out one of my little piſtols (I always carried loaden in my pockets in this country for fear of ſurprize) and fir'd at the ill-favour'd image, and the bullet went in under its left eye. When the negroes ſaw me going to ſhoot, they all run away and left me and my men there, where we ſtay'd about half an hour after, but not a ſyllable of complaint of the wound or any thing elſe could we hear: ſo we e'en left the image with the bullet in his buggilog, and went to bed. But next morning thoſe that were with me, and others that heard what I had done, were aſtoniſh'd to ſee me alive. When next I ſaw the king I told him of it, who aſſur'd me it ſpake every night to the blacks, but would not to the white men. I anſwer'd, That if it could have ſpoke, it certainly would when I ſhot it; but that he knew it was a piece of wood, and it was impoſſible for it to ſpeak. He reply'd, That he knew the figure was wood, but that it was moſt true, that the *Fatiſh* or god us'd to ſpeak out of it; that himſelf had often heard it, and wiſh'd it might do me no miſchief for abuſing it. I told him, If his ſubjects did not do me harm by poiſon, I did not fear the *Fatiſh* at all; and he aſſur'd me I need not fear the other. I have often ſeen little figures of clay about their houſes, with oil, rice, corn, and other offerings before them; alſo goats ript open, ſpread and hung on trees, as ſacrifices to the *Fatiſh*. And in truth they have ſo many things they call *Fatiſhes*, that I could never underſtand the true meaning of the word. On the gold coaſt when they make any ſolemn promiſe or oath, they take about ſix ſpoonfuls of water mix'd with ſome powders of divers colours, which the *Fatiſhman* puts into it; which potion is to kill them the very minute that they break or violate the oath or promiſe they took it on, and which they firmly believe. Captain *Shurley* us'd to make his negroes aboard take the *Fatiſh*, that they would not ſwim aſhore and run away, and then would let them out of irons. His potion was a cup of *Engliſh* beer, with a little aloes in it to imbitter it, which operated upon their faith as much as if it had been made by the beſt *Fatiſhes* in *Guiney:* for my part I put more dependance upon my ſhackles than any *Fatiſh* I could give them. When I was at *Cape Corce* caſtle, as I hinted before, I ſaw the *Fatiſh*, in all its circumſtances, given to the new king of *Futto*, by Meſſ. *Platt*, *Ronan*, and *Melroſs*, the *African* company's three chief merchants there, the king of *Sabo*, and *Nimpha* the general of the *Arcanys*. The occaſion of which, as well as I could learn it, is as follows.

Arcanys.

The *Arcanys*, who are the beſt traders to our ſhips and caſtles, and have the pureſt gold, are an inland people; ſo that to come to the ſea-ſide to our factories and ſhipping, they were oblig'd to paſs thro' the territories of other princes with their gold to buy, and back with the commodities purchas'd; which tho' very troubleſome becauſe of the diſtance, yet they underwent it with great alacrity. Among others they were to paſs thro' the king of *Futto*'s country, which they did for ſome time without interruption; but at length the *Futtoers* deſigning to make a prey of the *Arcanys* (inſtigated by our no-friends the *Dutch* at the *Mine*-caſtle, refus'd them paſſage thro' their country to our caſtles and ſhips, but would force them to buy the goods from them at their own rates, which they had bought from the *Dutch*, and which the *Arcanys* could buy cheaper and better at our caſtles; ſo that both they and we ſuffer'd by this obſtruction: and the *Futtoers* would, upon refuſal of the *Arcanys* to deal with them, abuſe the traders, and plunder them of their gold.

This treatment the *Arcanys* ſo far ſtomach'd and reſented, that ſome of their principal merchants reſolv'd to unite together with lives and fortunes to reduce the king of *Futto* to juſtice. To effect which they made war againſt him, and choſe one *Nimpha*, the moſt eminent of their traders, and for fortune, experience, and courage the beſt qualified, for their general. And having communicated their reſolutions to our chief merchants at *Cape Corce*, they receiv'd from them all due encouragement to forward

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their generous deſign, with a promiſe to ſupply them with arms, ammunition, and other neceſſaries of war for their expedition. The *Arcanys* purſued their reſolutions to raiſe an army; and, to render it the more formidable, hired the king of *Sabo* and his ſubjects into their ſervice. And indeed that prince is one of the moſt majeſtick and warlike negroes that I have ſeen; and I have been aſſur'd his actions in the field do well anſwer his aſpect and port. The *Arcanys* joyn'd by the *Saboers*, and ſeveral *Cape Corce* negroes our chief merchants ſent to aſſiſt them, under the command of captain *Hanſico*, captain *Amo*, and others of the caſtle cappaſheirs, made an army up of 20000 blacks, and march'd directly againſt the king of *Futto*, who, for defence of his country, had raiſed much ſuch another army. They had many ſmall ſkirmiſhes, pickeering with each other, the negroes not caring for a fair ſet battle, but watch to get advantages by ambuſcades and ſurprizes, in which the *Arcanys* and *Saboers* were ſo ſucceſsful, that they reduc'd the king of *Futto* to great ſtreights, and at length forc'd him to abandon his chief town, and flee to the *Dutch* general at the *Mine* for protection, who gave him ſanctuary. In the interim *Nimpha* and the king of *Sabo* entred his town triumphantly, plunder'd and burn'd moſt of it, and conſtituted his brother king in his ſtead; and having oblig'd all the great cappaſheirs in *Futto* to take the *Fatiſh* to be true to their new king, they brought him along with them to *Cape Corce* caſtle, there to take the *Fatiſh* to be a true friend to the *Engliſh*, and promote their intereſt in all kinds; to be at eternal enmity with his brother the late king; to preſerve an inviolable friendſhip with the *Arcanys*; and to ſuffer them to paſs thro' his country to and from our factories with their gold and goods, without any moleſtation. Which articles ingraved on parchment in the name of the royal *African* company of *England*, *Nimpha*, and the king of *Sabo*, the king of *Futto* ſigned by making his mark, and captain *Shurley*, myſelf, and divers of our factors and the caſtle cappaſheirs witneſſed them. Then the king of *Futto* took the *Fatiſh* on his bare knees to keep them inviolably, which was ſix ſpoonfuls of water, in which the *Fatiſher* had put about a dozen ſorts of powders, which none but himſelf knew what they were; and having ſtirr'd them well, gave the king of *Sabo* his potion, aſſuring him, that, upon the leaſt infringement of the articles he took it upon, he would in the twinkling of an eye drop down as dead as a door-nail, which he ſeem'd firmly to believe. This new king of *Futto* had a very dull droniſh aſpect and mien, and was carry'd every where upon a negroe's back, his foot being ſore with a worm. PHILLIPS. May, 1694.

When the king of *Sabo* and *Nimpha* came to our caſtle firſt in their return from the war, it and our ſhips ſaluted them with nine guns each, and they us with their ſmall ſhot. They walk'd under canopies with ſeveral horſe-tails tied to them, having conſtant ſhooting before them till they came to the caſtle gate, where having flouriſh'd their ſwords antickly, they entred, and with great reſpect kiſs'd all our hands, we taking and ſhaking them by theirs, and bidding them welcome. Our agents order'd a hogſhead of brandy to be ſet on end without the caſtle, and the head knock'd out, for all the army to drink the *African* company's healths.

The king of *Sabo* had two wives always accompanied him to the wars, and were with him now, often picking his head publickly, and eating the lice, which is a common cuſtom here; nor is it any ſhame to be louſy among them. I have given the beſt account I can of this ſort of *Fatiſh*, and the occaſion of it. They have little pieces of gold exquiſitely made in divers figures, which, for ornament, the blacks wear tied to their hair, and about their necks, wriſts, and ſmall of the leg, and theſe they call *Fatiſhes*: alſo every negroe has ſome creature or other he pays his devotions to, and admits and ſuppoſes to be his guardian, to take care of him and keep him from all harm, which he calls his *Fatiſh*. That of general *Nimpha* was a cow; and our factors having kill'd one to entertain us before our departure, which, by the way, is the greateſt token of reſpect and welcome that can be ſhewn a friend in this country (and which the *Dutch* general at the *Mine*-caſtle ſhew'd Mr. *Ronan*, captain *Shurley*, captain *Freeman*, and myſelf, when he invited us to dine there, a cow being kill'd and dreſs'd all at once) when we came to dinner at *Cape Corce*, we could not perſwade *Nimpha* (who, together witn the kings of *Sabo* and *Futto*, us'd to have the favour to ſit at table with us) to touch a bit, nor ſo much as come to look on the meat; and his reaſon was, becauſe it was his *Fatiſh*, which he was ſorry we had kill'd, and would not eat of. Others have a dog, ſheep, leopard, or what elſe they fancy for their *Fatiſh* to keep them from harm. So ignorant and ſuperſtitious are theſe poor creatures, that when I was at cape *Mounſeradoe*, obſerving a negroe of ſome quality wear a ſlip

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of leopard skin about his arm, I enquir'd of him the reaſon of it? and he inform'd me that it was his *Fatiſh* to keep him from the thunder, which indeed is very dreadful there, captain *Shurley* having loſt his fore-maſt thereby, as I before noted. Others wear tigers teeth, goats horns full of a reddiſh paſte, bones of fiſhes, *&c.* all which have their peculiar virtues to defend them from ſome imminent danger or other; and this is all I could learn of their *Fatiſhes* during my ſhort ſtay on this coaſt.

The *Whidawers* much admire white men, and ſay, That God loves them, becauſe they have ſuch plenty of all ſorts of commodities; and are much puzzled to think how we find the way thro' the ſea into their country. The king's *Fatiſhman* here pretends to great power and skill; as for inſtance, we happening to be there in the rain ſeaſons, when the ſea is moſt turbulent, it chanc'd to be one time ſo grown and exceeding boiſterous, that our canoes were not able to bring us any goods aſhore for 18 days, which made the cappaſheirs backward in ſelling us ſlaves, by reaſon we had no goods aſhore to pay for them; whereupon we made our complaint to the king, that it was a great hinderance to our buſineſs that they would not give us credit till our goods could be brought us, of which we had great plenty of all kinds, and that the violent raging of the ſea was the reaſon we had not them aſhore; that, if they would trade with us, we would give them our notes for what we bought, and honeſtly pay them aſſoon as the ſea was calmer. The old king deſir'd me to be eaſy, and he would make the ſea quiet next day. Accordingly he ſent his *Fatiſhman* with a jar of palm-oil, a bag of rice and corn, a jar of pitto, a bottle of brandy, and a piece of painted callicoes, and ſeveral other things to preſent the ſea to appeaſe it. When the *Fatiſhman* came to the ſea-ſide (as I was inform'd by my men that were there and ſaw the ceremony) he made a ſpeech to it, aſſuring the ſea that his king was its friend, and lov'd the white men; that we were honeſt fellows, and come to trade with him to ſupply his country with what he wanted, and that he requeſted the ſea not to be angry, nor hinder us to land our goods; and told it, That if it wanted palm oil, his king had ſent it ſome; and ſo threw the jar with the oil into the ſea, as he did with the ſame compliment the rice, corn, pitto, brandy, callicoe, *&c.* It happen'd the next day that the ſea was ſomewhat ſmoother, and we got aſhore ſome goods, which the old king was very proud of, and appropriated to his *Fatiſhman*, tho' it really proceeded from the moon's being near the wain, at which time, in all theſe ſouthern countries, the gales are more faint, and the ſea calmer, than at full and change. However, we let him indulge himſelf with the fancy, being glad we had our goods to trade. This *Fatiſhman* told me he could make it rain corn or ſalt if he pleas'd. I promis'd him large gratuities if he would ſhew me one inſtance of his skill in that kind; but he was too conſcious of his inability and deceit to accept them, or attempt it. The following ſtory I had from Mr. *Pierſon*, factor here for the *African* company, who was ſent here from *Cape Corce* to be ſecond to Mr. *Smith* then chief factor. Soon after his arrival Mr. *Smith* fell very ill of the country malignant fever; and having little proſpect of recovery, reſign'd his charge of the company's affairs to *Pierſon*. This Mr. *Smith* had the character of an obliging ingenious young gentleman, and was much eſteem'd by the king, who hearing of his deſperate illneſs, ſent his *Fatiſhman* to hinder him from dying; who coming to the factory, went to Mr. *Smith*'s bed-ſide, and told him, That his king had ſuch a kindneſs for him, that he had ſent him to keep him alive, and that he ſhould not die. Mr. *Smith* was in ſuch a languiſhing condition, that he little regarded him. Then the *Fatiſhman* went from him to the hog-yard, where they bury the white men; and having carry'd with him ſome brandy, rum, oil, rice, *&c.* he cry'd out aloud, *O you dead white men that lie here, you have a mind to have this factor that is ſick to you, but he is our king's friend, and he loves him, and will not part with him as yet.* Then he went to captain *Wiburn*'s grave who built the factory, and cry'd, *O you captain of all the dead white men that lie here, this is your doings; you would have this man from us to bear you company, becauſe he is a good man, but our king will not part with him, nor you ſhall not have him yet.* Then making a hole in the ground over his grave, he pour'd in the brandy, rum, oil, rice, *&c.* telling him, *If he wanted thoſe things, there they were for him, but the factor he muſt not expect, nor ſhould not have*, with more ſuch nonſenſe; then went to *Smith*, and aſſur'd him he ſhould not die; but growing troubleſome to the ſick man, *Pierſon* turn'd him out of the factory, and in two days after poor *Smith* made his *exit*.

After we are come to an agreement for the prices of our ſlaves, ere the bell goes round to order all people to bring their ſlaves to the trunk to be ſold, we

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are oblig'd to pay our cuſtoms to the king and cappaſheirs for leave to trade, protection and juſtice; which for every ſhip are as follow, *viz.*

Cuſtoms and duties. To the king ſix ſlaves value in cowries, or what other goods we can perſwade him to take, but cowries are moſt eſteem'd and deſir'd; all which are meaſur'd in his preſence, and he would wrangle with us ſtoutly about heaping up the meaſure.

To the cappaſheirs in all two ſlaves value, as above.

The uſual charges here which we pay at our departure when we have finiſh'd our trade, in any goods that remain, are

One ſlave value to the captain of the trunk for his care of our ſlaves while there.

One ſlave value to the captain of the ſand for his care of our goods.

One *ditto* to the captain of the ſlaves who conducts them ſafe to the ſea-ſide.

One *ditto* to captain *Tom* the interpreter, for his trouble.

One *ditto* for filling water.

Half a ſlave, or as much cowries as the cavity of the bell can contain, to the bell-man.

Beſides all which our factory charges, victualling the negroes after bought till they get aboard, and hire of porters to bring up the goods from the ſea-ſide, which is ſeven miles at leaſt, and the ſtouteſt fellow would not bring above two bars of iron at a time, and make but one trip in a day, took up great quantities of our cowries, we paying theſe laſt charges in nothing elſe but theſe ſhells.

Goods. The beſt goods to purchaſe ſlaves here are cowries, the ſmaller the more eſteem'd; for they pay them all by tale, the ſmalleſt being as valuable as the biggeſt, but take them from us by meaſure or weight, of which about 100 pounds for a good man-ſlave.

The next in demand are braſs neptunes or baſons, very large, thin, and flat; for after they have bought them they cut them in pieces to make anilias or bracelets, and collars for their arms legs and necks.

The other preferable goods are blue paper ſletias, cambricks or lawns, caddy chints, broad *ditto*, coral, large, ſmooth, and of a deep red, rangoes large and red, iron bars, powder, and brandy.

With the above goods a ſhip cannot want ſlaves here, and may purchaſe them for about three pounds fifteen ſhillings a head, but near half the cargo value muſt be cowries or booges, and braſs baſons, to ſe toff the other goods that we buy cheaper, as coral, rangoes, iron, *&c.* elſe they will not take them; for if a cappaſheir ſells five ſlaves, he will have two of them paid for in cowries, and one in braſs, which are dear ſlaves; for a ſlave in cowries coſts us above four pounds in *England*; whereas a ſlave in coral, rangoes, or iron, does not coſt fifty ſhillings; but without the cowries and braſs they will take none of the laſt goods, and but ſmall quantities at beſt, eſpecially if they can diſcover that you have good ſtore of cowries and braſs aboard, then no other goods will ſerve their turn, till they have got as much as you have; and after, for the reſt of the goods they will be indifferent, and make you come to their own terms, or elſe lie a long time for your ſlaves, ſo that thoſe you have on board are dying while you are buying others aſhore; therefore every man that comes here, ought to be very cautious in making his report to the king at firſt, of what ſorts and quantities of goods he has, and be ſure to ſay his cargo conſiſts moſtly in iron, coral, rangoes, chints, *&c.* ſo that he may diſpoſe of thoſe goods as ſoon as he can, and at laſt his cowries and braſs will bring him ſlaves as faſt as he can buy them: but this is to be underſtood of a ſingle ſhip: or more, if the captains agree, which ſeldom happens; for where there are divers ſhips, and of ſeparate intereſts, about buying the ſame commodity they commonly undermine, betray, and out-bid one the other; and the *Guiney* commanders words and promiſes are the leaſt to be depended upon of any I know uſe the ſea; for they would deceive their fathers in their trade if they could.

Sayes, perpetuanoes, knives, old ſheets, pewter baſons, muskets, *&c.* which are the beſt goods on the gold coaſt for gold, are in no eſteem here; for they would have four perpetuanoes for a ſlave, which, at prime coſt in *England*, came to 4 *l.* 15 *s.* ſo of the reſt, eſpecially ſalempores or fine callicoes, of which they would have four for a ſlave, which were charged to us by the *African* company at ſix pounds firſt coſt; ſo that it was great loſs to ſend ſuch goods; for we could buy for ten ounces of good coral, 300 in number of good red rangoes, or fourteen bars of iron, which did not come to above forty-five ſhillings, as good a ſlave as for four pieces of callicoes that coſt ſix pounds *Sterling*.

The only money they have here are theſe cowries or ſhells we carry them, being brought from the *Eaſt-Indies*, and were charg'd to us at four pounds *per cent.* of which

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which we gave 100 *lb.* for a ſlave; as ſoon as the negroes have them, they bore holes in the backs of them, and ſtring them on ruſhes, 40 ſhells on each, which they call a foggy; and five of ſuch foggys being tied together, is call'd a galina, being 200 ſhells, which is their way of accounting their ſhell-money. When they go to market to buy any thing they bargain for ſo many cowries, foggys, or ſo many galinas, and without theſe ſhells they can purchaſe nothing.

King of Whidaw *deſcrib'd.*

The king of *Whidaw* is about 60 years of age, as near as I could gueſs; for none of the negroes know their own age, nor do, or can they keep any account of time: He is of a middle ſtature, and ſpare, his hair and beard grey, his aſpect but very ordinary and mean, and I believe ſo is his heart; he ſeems of a good free temper, and full of mirth and kindneſs, eſpecially when he intends to beg a boon: He never went out of his palace while we were there, but in his palace-yard would walk barefoot thro' the mud and water, with as little concern as any of his poor ſubjects; of which I have been told he can raiſe 40,000 in 24 hours.

His chief cappaſheirs were Capt. *Springgatha*, I judge about 80 years old, and a politick blade; he expects to be king next, and governs the king now as he pleaſes. We found more difficulty, oppoſition, and quirking from him in ſettling our trade, than from the king and all the other cappaſheirs.

The next is Capt. *Charter*, the king's great confident, who formerly was a boy to Mr. *Charter*, one of the *African* company's factors that was here, whoſe name he took, and is now very proud of. He is a very handſome ſenſible black, about 30 years old, and a generous trader. He ſold us more ſlaves than all the other cappaſheirs put together; all the blacks have their eyes on him, *Springgatha* being very old. Next *Charter* is Capt. *Tom*, the interpreter, Capt. *Biby*, Capt. *Agwa*, king *Tom*, who is brother to the king of great *Arda*, (and for ſome crimes baniſh'd his country, takes ſanctuary here) and divers others, that attended the king when we were with him. About half a mile from our factory is a croom of negroes, which call themſelves *Mine*-men, and aſſiſt the *Dutch* ſhips that come here in their buſineſs, but the *Dutch Weſt-India* company ſeldom order their ſhips for ſlaves, but chiefly mind their trade on the gold coaſt, where they have more and better caſtles than we, and more advantageouſly ſeated, the *Mine* and *Commendo* being in the very direct path of the gold trade.

Except the afore-mention'd negroes, the *Dutch* have no factory at *Whidaw*, nor any houſe: Some *Dutch* interlopers, when they have goods lying on their hands, that will not vend for gold, have orders to fall down here and diſpoſe of them for negroe ſlaves, which they carry for *Surinam* and *Curiſoa*, in the *Weſt-Indies*.

At the iſland of St. *Thomas* I met with one that had 200 negroes aboard for *Surinam*, but had the misfortune, as well as we, to have a great ſickneſs and mortality among them, which, together with their ſtink and naſtineſs, ſo fretted *Clauſe* the *Dutch* ſkipper, that he ſwore ſacrament, that notwithſtanding his owners were brave and generous merchants, yet if he liv'd to come to *Holland* again, he would deliver them their ſhip; and if they would give him 100 *l.* pay *per* month to go and carry negroes again, he would not take it, but would ſooner go elſewhere a common ſailor for 20 guilders a month.

The road.

The road where our ſhips ride is very good and clean ground, and gradual ſoundings; the beſt anchoring is in eight fathom water, againſt a great tuft of trees that make like a barn, about a mile and a half off the ſhore, on which there runs ſuch a prodigious ſwell and ſurf, that we venture drowning every time we go aſhore and come off, the canoes frequently over-ſetting, but the canoe-men are ſuch excellent divers and ſwimmers, that they preſerve the lives of thoſe they have any kindneſs for, but ſuch as they have any diſpleaſure to they will let ſhift for themſelves, therefore 'tis very prudent for all commanders to be kind and obliging to them, their lives lying in their hands, which they can make them loſe at pleaſure, and impute all to accident, and they could not help it; and there are no amends to be had: The canoes we buy on the gold coaſt, and ſtrengthen them with knees and weather-boards fore and aft, to keep the ſea out, they plunging very deep when they go againſt a ſea: They are made of the trunk of the cotton tree hollow'd, from a two hand to a 12 hand canoe, the largeſt being not above four foot broad, but 28 or 30 foot long; thoſe that are moſt fit for the uſe at *Whidaw*, are five hand or ſeven hand canoes; of which each ſhip that buys many ſlaves ought to carry two, for they are very incident to be ſtaved by the great ſea when they overſet, and here is none for ſupply, and without them there is no landing or coming off for goods or men: The canoe-men we bring from *Cape Corce* being ſeven in number, of which one is boatſwain, and is commonly one of the moſt ſkillful canoe-men in *Guiney*; he commands the reſt, and always ſteers the canoe,

canoe, and gives his orders to the reſt, when to row or when to lie on their paddles, to watch a ſmooth or ſhun a great ſea, they ſee coming; their pay is certain and ſtated, half of which we pay them in gold at *Cape Corce*, and the reſt in goods when we have done with them at *Whidaw*; 'tis alſo cuſtomary to give them a canoe to carry them back, and cut up the other for fire-wood, unleſs an opportunity offers to ſell it, which is very rare. They loſt us ſix or ſeven barrels of cowries, above 100 bars of iron, and other goods, by the over-ſetting of the canoes in landing them, which we could never recover, or have the leaſt ſatisfaction for, but were forced to give them good words, leſt they ſhould, in revenge, play us more ſuch tricks; we kept two men aſhore here conſtantly to fill water, which lay and eat at the factory, which fill'd our ſmall hogſheads in the night, and roll'd them over the ſand to the ſea-ſide, ready to raft off in the morning, before the ſea breeze came in, which is the only time, we having no other way to get it off but by rafting, and in halling off to the longboat the great ſea would often break our raft, and ſtave our caſk, whereby we loſt a great many. The longboat was chiefly employ'd in bringing water aboard, which we ſtarted into our butts in the hold, and ſent the ſmall caſk aſhore again next morning, of which we had two gangs on purpoſe; we had a little deal yaul which did us great ſervice in bringing off cows, hogs, ſlaves, letters, *&c.* from the canoes, with only two boys in her: When our ſlaves are aboard we ſhackle the men two and two, while we lie in port, and in ſight of their own country, for 'tis then they attempt to make their eſcape, and mutiny; to prevent which we always keep centinels upon the hatchways, and have a cheſt of ſmall arms, ready loaden and prim'd, conſtantly lying at hand upon the quarter-deck, together with ſome granada ſhells; and two of our quarter-deck guns, pointing on the deck thence, and two more out of the ſteerage, the door of which is always kept ſhut, and well barr'd; they are fed twice aday, at 10 in the morning and 4 in the evening, which is the time they are apteſt to mutiny, being all upon deck; therefore all that time, what of our men are not employ'd in diſtributing their victuals to them, and ſettling them, ſtand to their arms; and ſome with lighted matches at the great guns that yaun upon them, loaden with partridge, till they have done and gone down to their kennels between decks: Their chief diet is call'd dabbadabb, being *Indian* corn ground as ſmall as oat-meal, in iron mills, which we carry for that purpoſe; and after mix'd with water, and boil'd well in a large copper furnace, till 'tis as thick as a pudding; about a peckful of which in veſſels, call'd *crews*, is allow'd to 10 men, with a little ſalt, malagetta, and palm oil, to reliſh; they are divided into meſſes of ten each, for the eaſier and better order in ſerving them: Three days a week they have horſe-beans boil'd for their dinner and ſupper, great quantities of which the *African* company do ſend aboard us for that purpoſe; theſe beans the negroes extremely love and deſire, beating their breaſt, eating them, and crying *Pram! Pram!* which is, *Very good!* they are indeed the beſt diet for them, having a binding quality, and conſequently good to prevent the flux, which is the inveterate diſtemper that moſt affects them, and ruins our voyages by their mortality: The men are all fed upon the main deck and forecaſtle, that we may have them all under command of our arms from the quarter-deck, in caſe of any diſturbance; the women eat upon the quarter-deck with us, and the boys and girls upon the poop; after they are once divided into meſſes, and appointed their places, they will readily run there in good order of themſelves afterwards; when they have eaten their victuals clean up, (which we force them to for to thrive the better) they are order'd down between decks, and every one as he paſſes has a pint of water to drink after his meat, which is ſerv'd them by the cooper out of a large tub, fill'd before-hand ready for them. When they have occaſion to eaſe nature, they are permitted by the centinels to come up, and go to conveniency which are provided for that purpoſe, on each ſide the ſhip, each of which will contain a dozen of them at once, and have broad ladders to aſcend them with the greater eaſe: When we come to ſea we let them all out of irons, they never attempting then to rebel, conſidering that ſhould they kill or maſter us, they could not tell how to manage the ſhip, or muſt truſt us, who would carry them where we pleas'd; therefore the only danger is while we are in ſight of their own country, which they are loth to part with; but once out of ſight out of mind: I never heard that they mutiny'd in any ſhips of conſequence, that had a good number of men, and the leaſt care; but in ſmall tools where they had but few men, and thoſe negligent or drunk, then they ſurpriz'd and butcher'd them, cut the cables, and let the veſſel drive aſhore, and every one ſhift for himſelf. However, we have ſome 30 or 40 gold coaſt negroes, which we buy, and are procur'd us there by our factors, to make

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guardians and overſeers of the *Whidaw* negroes, and ſleep among them to keep them from quarrelling; and in order, as well as to give us notice, if they can diſcover any caballing or plotting among them, which truſt they will diſcharge with great diligence: they alſo take care to make the negroes ſcrape the decks where they lodge every morning very clean, to eſchew any diſtempers that may engender from filth and naſtineſs; when we conſtitute a guardian, we give him a cat of nine tails as a badge of his office, which he is not a little proud of, and will exerciſe with great authority. We often at ſea in the evenings would let the ſlaves come up into the ſun to air themſelves, and make them jump and dance for an hour or two to our bag-pipes, harp, and fiddle, by which exerciſe to preſerve them in health; but notwithſtanding all our endeavour, 'twas my hard fortune to have great ſickneſs and mortality among them.

July 27. Having bought my compliment of 700 ſlaves, *viz.* 480 men and 220 women, and finiſh'd all my buſineſs at *Whidaw*, I took my leave of the old king and his cappaſheirs, and parted, with many affectionate expreſſions on both ſides, being forced to promiſe him that I would return again the next year, with ſeveral things he deſired me to bring from *England*; and having ſign'd bills of lading to Mr. *Peirſon*, for the negroes aboard, I ſet ſail the 27th of *July* in the morning, accompany'd with the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, who had bought 650 ſlaves, for the iſland of St. *Thomas*, with the wind at W. S. W. At noon we had good obſervation in lat. 6° 18′ N. the trees of *Whidaw* that ſeem like a barn, then bearing N. by W. about ſix leagues off, being juſt diſcernable; from which take my departure; we got in our longboat and bent a new fore top-ſail.

Departure from Whidaw.

Saturday the 28th. We have had the winds conſtantly between the S. and W. we making uſe of all opportunities to get as much as we could to the ſouthward, tho' were often forc'd to bear down and lie by for the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, which ſail'd ill, and was very leewardly.

Auguſt, 1694. *Thurſday* the 2d of *Auguſt*. We ſpy'd the iſland of *Princes*, bearing S. eight leagues off, and at noon were in latitude 1° 50′ N. the ſouth end of *Princes* bearing then S. S. W. ſix leagues off and the N. W. end S. W. by S. being a very high mountainous iſland; we made eaſting to this day noon from *Whidaw*, 297 miles, or 99 leagues.

Prince's *iſland.*

Friday the 3d. We paſt by the iſland of *Princes* with the wind at S. S. W. and S. W. and at 6 o'clock on *Saturday* morning fell in with the land, it bearing E. S. E. three leagues off, having then 12 fathom water, we tack'd off and lay W. and W. by S. the other way till noon, when we had good obſervation of the latitude, in lat. 00°57′ N. The land we fell in with was a low even tract full of trees, with a ſmall iſland at the ſouth end of it; I took it to be cape St. *John*'s in the *Bight*.

Sunday the 5th. We ply'd along ſhore to windward, ſtanding in to 14 fathom water, then off again; but our ſhip being very light would often refuſe to ſtay or keep to; therefore this day we fill'd all the empty buts we had in the hold with ſalt water, and brought her ſomewhat more by the head. To day I had a ſetton made in my neck, for the eaſe of my head, having often us'd bliſters and other remedies to no purpoſe. We loſt ſight of the *Eaſt-India Merchant* laſt night, ſhe having tack'd in the night, by reaſon of two grampus's, the men that look'd out ſaw a head of the ſhip, which they took to be two rocks, as we underſtood ſince. Of theſe grampus's there are great numbers in this ſea, being as big as ſmall whales, and are much enamour'd with the ſhips, which they will follow and wantonly play about, ſuppoſing it, I preſume, ſome great gigantick brother of their watry element. We uſe to have good diverſion in ſeeing a fiſh, call'd a thraſher, combat theſe grampus's; for where-ever they meet they quarrel; as near as I can gueſs 'tis about four yards long, but very ſlender: When it engages it raiſes itſelf an end, quite out of the water, and falls upon the grampus with ſuch violence, that we could hear the noiſe, and ſee the breach in the ſea the blow made, above a mile; we obſerved the latitude this day, in 00° 25′ N.

Monday the 6th. Plying to windward along ſhore in the morning, we ſpy'd a ſhip at an anchor under the land, and in leſs than an hour ſhe got under ſail, and ſtood off to us; we made a clear ſhip for her, but it proving hazey weather we loſt ſight of her. This morning we croſs'd the line, being by our obſervation at noon in 10 minutes S. latitude; at which time our negroes being all upon deck at their dinners, a young tiger I had aboard, which was given me by Mr. *Ronan*, at *Cape Corce* caſtle, and which I kept in a wooden cage upon the quarter-deck, broke out of it, ſeiz'd upon a negroe woman's leg, and in an inſtant, before any of us could come to her reſcue, tore the calf quite off, which as ſoon as one of our quarter-maſters perceiv'd, he ran to him, and giving him a little blow with the flat of a cutlaſs, the tiger couch'd down like a ſpaniel dog, and the man took him up in his arms, dragg'd him

him along, and without any reſiſtance, or harm, pent him up in his coop again.

'Twas ſtrange to me to obſerve this ravenous wild creature, that he would be as familiar with our white men as a ſpaniel, letting them play with him, ſtroak him, take him by the tongue or paw, and would wantonly lick their hands, pat them with his foot like a cat, without offering the leaſt injury; but when he ſaw a black, tho' at a diſtance, he would grow raving mad, bounce and leap in his cage as if he would break it to pieces, and his eyes would look like perfect fire, ſo that I was forced to get a larger and ſtronger coop made for him: and always hang an old ſail before it to blind him, while the ſlaves were at victuals, elſe there was no appeaſing of him; but at laſt he ſhew'd himſelf a true tiger to us, and that nature is not to be chang'd, as I ſhall obſerve hereafter.

Tueſday the 7th. This Day we ply'd along ſhore to the ſouth, taking the opportunity of the land breeze to ſtand off with, and the ſea breeze to ſtand in; which we boldly did into 12 fathom in the day-time, and 15 in the night, as may be done all along this coaſt without any danger. We were at noon this day in latitude 00° 24′ ſouth. PHILLIPS. Auguſt, 1694.

Wedneſday the 8th. Yeſterday at twelve we tack'd to the ſouth, and lay up S. by E. with a fine freſh gale at S. W. by W. till four in the evening, when heaving the lead we had but 10 fathom water, tho' we were above four leagues off ſhore, the pitch of cape *Lopus* being then juſt diſcernable, bearing S. W. by W. ſix leagues off: We were then abreaſt of a great white ſand upon the ſhore, which reach'd far up on the land, which I judge to be about the river of *Gabon*, and which the *Dutch* waggoner takes notice of, and calls the *Grote White Pleken*, of which there runs a ſand a great way into the ſea, which made us have ſuch ſhoal water at that diſtance; but there is no danger, being gradual ſoundings all along into the ſhore. We made ſeveral trips to windward till noon this day: we were by our obſervation in latitude 00° 35′ S.; cape *de Lopo Gonzales*, bearing then due ſouth five leagues off, being a low land, and ſeeming as underneath.

Thurſday the 9th. From noon yeſterday we ſtood off ſhore, lying up W. by S. and W. S. W. till four; then in again, lying S. S. by S. till ſix; when reflecting on the time it might coſt me to endeavour to get into cape *Lopus*, (where I deſign'd to wood and water) by reaſon of the uncertainty of the winds, and the current ſetting us to leeward; which together with my negroes dying very faſt, and the want of ſome proviſions I was in, made me reſolve to ſtand over for the iſland of St. *Thomas*, about 40 leagues diſtant, not doubting fetching of it, being ſo far to the ſouth of the line: Accordingly at ſix tack'd to the W. cape *Lopus* then bearing S. S. E. diſtant ſeven leagues. We lay up weſt, W. by S. and W. S. W. at night, till ſix this morning; when the wind ſcanted to S. W. by S. and S. W. ſo that we could lie but W. by N. and W. N. W. till noon this day, when had good obſervation in the latitude 00° 19′ S.

Friday the 10th. Theſe 24 hours we have had the winds at S. by W. and S. S. W. we lying up for moſt part W. by S. until 12 this day; when I much admired we could not ſee the iſland, having by our reckonings run the length of it; but the weather was very dark and hazey, ſo that we had no obſervation.

Saturday the 11th. From noon yeſterday we lay up W. by S. and W. S. W. till two in the evening, when our men from the top-maſt head, ſaw the iſland to the N. W. of us: At three I ſaw it off the deck, the ſouth point bearing W. by N. the north point N. W. by W. and the *Cabras* N. W. diſtant about ſix leagues. At four had but little wind till eight, then ſmall breeze at S. by W. we lying up W. by S. till 12, when being near the iſland we tack'd of, lying S. E. till four; then in again, and lay by till ſeven, when being clear daylight we bore up along the iſland for the town, having gradual ſoundings from 14 to ſeven fathom water; but a little to windward of the town, on a ſudden we had but five fathom; upon which I edg'd off, and as I went off ſtill ſhoal'd my water to four fathom and half, which ſo frighted me that I let go my anchor in four fathom and a quarter, right abreaſt the caſtle; but here is no danger, it being no leſs water in two mile round, but deeper into the ſhore, as I found afterward by ſounding.

Sunday the 12th. Yeſterday at noon, after having anchor'd, I went aſhore to viſit the general, but he being dead, I was conducted to the governor, who receiv'd me civilly; and after having aſk'd me

ſome

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ſome queſtions of form, underſtanding that I wanted only wood and water, and ſome proviſions, gave me free liberty to ſupply myſelf: He expreſs'd an admiration at my lying ſo far off at an anchor, hinting as tho' he believed I was unwilling to come under the command of the caſtle guns, as other ſhips did, aſſuring me there was the uſual and beſt road; wherefore to remove his jealouſy, this morning I got under ſail, and ſtood in till I came within muſket-ſhot of the caſtle, and there let go my anchor in five fathom, moor'd my ſhip, ſaluted the caſtle with five guns, and put all the negroe men into irons, leſt they ſhould ſwim away, being ſo near the ſhore: the caſtle bore off us S. by E. About four days after my arrival, came in here the *Eaſt-India Merchant*, having paſs'd by the iſland to the ſouth without ſeeing it, therefore when they found their error, were forced to ſtand back again in queſt of it, and at laſt found it.

Iſland of St. Thomas.

The iſland of St. *Thomas*, inhabited by the *Portugueſe*, lies under the equator, the middle of it being in 00° 10′ N. about 45 leagues W. N. W. from cape *Lopus*, and 40 due W. from the river of *Gabon*: It is full of high mountains, which arecover'd over with thick groves of tall trees; and during the time I was aſhore I don't remember that I ever ſaw the tops of them free from great heavy clouds, which occaſions a continual miſt or driſling rain upon them; and from their conſtant droppings are derived fine ſmall rivulets of water, which irrigate and moiſten the vallies underneath.

The town lies on the north-eaſt ſide of the iſland, in the bottom of a fine bay; may contain about 200 houſes, large and well built, but moſt of boards and rafters only, with galleries and great open windows round about them, for conveniency of air, *&c.* There be ſome houſes built of good ſquare ſtone, but very few. Thro' the town there runs a ſmall freſh brook into the ſea, over which is built a little bridge of one arch, which they ſay lies directly under the equinoctial; and that in paſſing from one end of the bridge to the other, you croſs the line: In this little river we fill'd all our water, which to my taſte and apprehenſion ſeem'd very good, tho' the diſtempers and mortality that afterwards happen'd among my men and ſlaves, made me ſuſpect it did partake of ſome of the malignity of the iſland thro' which it runs.

The moſt convenient time to fill it is in the night, by reaſon the women of the town are waſhing cloaths, and otherwiſe dirtying and defiling the water all the daytime, along the river above the place where we fill: therefore we left our cooper and two ſeamen every night with our caſk aſhore to fill them, and roll them to the ſea-ſide, ready for the longboat to hoiſt in in the morning and carry aboard; the cooper and other men, when they had done their buſineſs, for the reſt of the night were lodg'd in the houſe of Signior *Lorenzo de Soozo*, a native of *Tercera*, one of the weſtern iſlands, and now marry'd here, and captain of a ſmall *Portugueſe* veſſel belonging to this iſland, with which he uſes to go and trade upon the coaſt of *Guiney*, for gold and ſlaves, and ſometimes to *Brazil* for ſugars, *&c.* He was very obliging and aſſiſtant to us in our buſineſs, and teſtify'd a great deal of affection to us and deſire to ſerve us, for which we gratefully requited him: One of our men arm'd was conſtantly oblig'd to watch the caſk in the night, elſe the *Portugueſe*, who are the greateſt thieves in the world, would ſteal all their iron hoops off. Fire-wood is here plenty, and very good round wood, of which for 11 dollars I bought my longboat, that would eaſily carry 12 tons, as full and deep as I durſt load her: I was ſupply'd with it by *Emanuel Fernando*, who was a negroe *Portugueſe*, but one of the greateſt men for quality and riches in the iſland, being chief ſecretary to the king of *Portugal* here: His negroes cut it, and his canoes brought it to our longboat, ſo that we had no trouble in the leaſt, but to load her as deep as ſhe could ſwim aboard.

This iſland affords the beſt pork that ever I taſted, it being impoſſible for any fleſh to be more palatable, or eat ſweeter; and here is ſuch plenty of it, that for three dollars we could buy a fine large young hog, fit for ſalting, which at a crown *per* dollar is but 15 *s.* Here are all other proviſions in great plenty; their kine are but ſmall, which we could buy for five dollars *per* head: They have fine large poultry, 10 of which we could buy for a dollar; and the market is daily ſtock'd with good freſh fiſh. We ſupply'd ourſelves with ſome *Indian* corn, figolas, or kidney-beans, plantins, yams, potatoes, cocoa-nuts, limes, oranges, *&c.* for the uſe and refreſhment of our negroes, at the following rates, *viz.*

Indian corn at two alcars *per* dollar.

Figolas, or kidneybeans, at dollars three *per* cheſt, which would contain near four buſhels.

Plantins at dollars two and a half *per* thouſand, by tale.

Yams, which are great large roots, and eat very ſweet, much like a potato in taſte, at dollars 25 *per* thouſand, by tale.

Cocoa-nuts at dollars 10 *per* thouſand nuts.

Limes,

Limes, oranges, limons, bananas, *&c.* for little or nothing; ſo that this iſland is well ſupply'd with all things for the uſe of man in great abundance: but the unhealthineſs of it, lying under the torrid zone, palls the delights of the inhabitants, and imbitters all their plenty; for the climate is ſo ſickly, eſpecially in *December*, *January*, and *February*, that moſt of the white people ſeverely feel the effects of it, being ſeldom free from agues, fevers, and fluxes ten days together; the laſt of which is the moſt reigning and dangerous diſtemper. To prevent which, when I was enquiring of the governor and ſome other gentlemen of the iſland, the propereſt method, they very kindly adviſed me, as a ſecret, every night, before I went to ſleep, to waſh clean, and dabble my fundament with luke-warm water for half a quarter of an hour, and aſſur'd me, it was their own conſtant cuſtom every night. I gave them thanks, and put it in practice; but tho' it preſerv'd me poſſibly from the flux, yet it could not guard me from a fever, which ſoon ſeiz'd me, and of which I had a moſt violent fit; but by the bleſſing of God, and care of my honeſt doctor Mr. *Gordon*, who continually ply'd me with vomits, bleedings, bliſters, gliſters, and what elſe he thought proper, I at length recover'd.

The town may contain about 200 white inhabitants, who all look like ſhadows, and ſeldom any of them arrive at the age of fifty years, tho' the negroes which are here in great numbers, agree well enough with the climate, which is ſo very malignant, that few or none of the *Portugueze* would come to live here but ſuch as are forc'd to flee, or are baniſh'd their country for ſome villanies. They told me that I happen'd to come here in the healthieſt time of the year, tho' my poor men and negroes, by their ſickneſs and mortality, made it appear unhealthy enough; and if that was their beſt, the Lord deliver every body from their worſt ſeaſons.

The ſugar that is made here is very coarſe and dirty, and ſeldom well cured; but they have often ſupplies of very good from *Braſil*; tho' at this time the iſland was ſo bare, that I could not furniſh myſelf with an hundred weight that was fit for man's uſe, at any price.

They make ſtore of rum here, but 'tis ſad ſtinking raw ſtuff. There are a great many plantations and houſes well built, which, as we ſailed along the iſland, look'd very delightful. This iſland, as well as St. *Jago*, breeds great quantities of monkies and baboons, which, I have been told, have a certain place where they meet daily to truck with each other, one bringing a plaintain, another a yam, another an orange, banana, potatoe, or ſome other merchandize, and ſo each exchanges what he has with ſome other baboon for what he wants or likes better, and after repair home to their quarters. I have nothing to ſay to the truth of this, having never been upon their exchange, nor ſeen their traffick; but I have ſeen ſuch actions from theſe creatures, aping mankind, that were very ſurprizing. Parakets or green birds are here in ſuch numbers, that for half a dollar we could buy a cane cage with forty of them in it. I purchas'd near 500 of them, but could not bring above a dozen alive to *Barbadoes*, the leaſt cold killing them. PHILLIPS. Auguſt, 1694.

The caſtle. The caſtle lies about a quarter of a mile from the town upon a neck of land at the entrance of the bay. It may have about twenty old guns, ſome mounted, and ſome diſmounted, the walls being very ruinous and weakly mann'd, ſo that it ſerves more for a ſcarecrow than any thing elſe; for I would have undertaken to have brought off, burnt or ſunk every veſſel they had in the port, with my own ſhip and boats only, in ſpite of what reſiſtance the caſtle or town could make. And I believe the reaſon why the town is not more moleſted or taken from them, is the poverty of it, there being nothing to be got but proviſions, together with the unhealthineſs of it. Here are great quantities of palm-oil made, of which we could buy a barrel containing twenty odd gallons for ſix dollars, which in *Barbadoes* would yield three pounds. The road where the ſhips lie is good and clean ground: about a league to the N. E. of which lie two large rocks or little iſlands, about a mile off ſhore, call'd the *Cabras*; a little to leeward of which is good riding, cloſe to the ſhore, near a fine river to fill water, and there you may cut your wood your ſelf for little or nothing, and the country people will bring you down all neceſſaries that you want, beſides, that you ſave the cuſtoms that you are oblig'd to pay if you lie at the town, which for every ſhip, little or great, is one negroe ſlave to the general, or who is deputed by him, for leave to wood, water, *&c.* eight dollars to the captain of the caſtle, and one dollar to the arguſite, who comes aboard you, none of the inhabitants daring to come, or to trade with you in the leaſt, without permiſſion from the governor. The iſland is about twelve leagues long, N. and S. and about ten leagues broad.

Having completed all my buſineſs aſhore in fourteen days that I lay here, Aug. 25. yeſter-

yeſterday in the afternoon I came off with a reſolution to go to ſea. Accordingly about ſix in the evening we got up our anchors, and ſet ſail for *Barbadoes*, being forc'd to leave the *Eaſt-India merchant* behind, who could not get ready to ſail in nine or ten days; which time I could not afford to ſtay, in reſpect of the mortality of my negroes, of which two or three died every day, alſo the ſmall quantity of proviſions I had to ſerve for my paſſage to *Barbadoes*. We ſtood off E. and E. by N. with a ſmall breeze at S. W. till 8, when we had a fine freſh gale at S. ſteering off N. E. N. N. E. and N. till 10 o'clock, when we were abreaſt the *Cabras*, then hal'd up N. N. W. and N. W. till 12, at which time it fell ſtark calm, and continued ſo till noon this day. We were forc'd to go away to leeward of the iſland, becauſe the winds here are between the S. and W. S. W. conſtantly, and the current ſets ſtrong to the N. ſo that there was no plying againſt wind and tide.

Sunday the 26th. Yeſterday at two in the evening ſprung up a fine breeze at S. S. W. but ſoon veer'd to W. S. W. we keeping up W. N. W. and N. W. the wind often ſhifting a point or two. At noon this day the iſland of St. *Thomas* being in latitude 00° 10′ N. bore off us S. E. ½ E. diſtant 14 leagues, from which take my departure for *Barbadoes*, we being then 27 miles to the N. and 33 miles to the weſt of it, as appears by the following table, which I have rather choſe to annex, ſhewing the courſe of our ſailing every day, than write every 24 hours work down at large, which had been tedious, ſince nothing extraordinary occurr'd to us in our voyage but what I ſhall briefly recount afterwards.

A TABLE *of our* Voyage *from the Iſland of St.* Thomas *to* Barbadoes, *ſhewing what Courſe, Diſtance, Difference of Latitude, and Departure we made every Day during our Paſſage, with account of the Obſervations and Winds.*

1694. Mont.	Days.	Courſe.	Diſt.	N.	S.	E.	W.	Latitude.	Winds.	
Auguſt	26	N. W. ½ W.	43	27′			33	R. 00° 37′ N.	S. W.	
	27	W. ½ S.	60		4		59	R. 00 33	S. by W.	
	28	W. ¾ S.	59		8		58	R. 00 25	S. ½ W.	
	29	W. by S. ¼ S.	74		18		71	R. 00 07	S. ½ E.	
	30	W.	71				71		S. by W.	
	31		76				76			
Sept.	1	W. ½ S.	78		6		77	R. 00 01	S. ½ W.	
	2	W. ¾ S.	48		7		47	R. 00 06 S.		Croſs'd the
	3	W. by S.	54		10		53	R. 00 16 S.	S.	line to the
	4	W.	62				62		S. by W.	ſouthward.
	5		58				58			
	6		41				41		Various.	
	7		61				61		S. by W.	
	8	S. W. ½ W.	74		46		58	R. 01 02	S. E. by S.	
	9	W. S. W.	118		45		108	R. 01 47	S. E.	
	10		114		43		105	R. 02 30		
	11	W.	122	10			122	Ob. 02 20	S. S. E.	
	12		127	10			127	Ob. 02 10		
	13		124				124			
	14	W. by S.	120	9	19		118	R. 02 29	S. E.	
	15	W.	113				113		E. S. E.	
	16		99				99			
	17	N. W.	84	59			59	R. 01 30	S. E.	
	18	N. N. W.	106	98			40	R. 00 08 N.		Croſs'd the
	19	N. W. by N.	130	108			72	R. 01 56		line again
		Correct by ob.		74			20	Ob. 3 10		to the N.
	20	N. W by W.	100	55			83	R. 04 05 N.	S. E. by E.	
	21	N. W.	63	45			45	Ob. 5 00 N.	S. S. E.	
	22	N. W. ½ N.	95	73			60	R. 06 13	S. by E.	
	23	N. N. W.	90	83			34	R. 07 36	S.	
	24	N. W. ½ N.	118	90			75	Ob. 9 20	S.	
	25	N. by E.	33	32		6		R. 09 52	Various.	
	26	N. N. E. ½ E.	16	14		7		Ob. 10 09	N. W. by W.	
	27	N. W. ¼ W.	30	21			22	R. 10 30	Various.	
	28	N. by W. ½ W.	140	134			40	Ob. 12 45	S. W.	Stormy.
	29	N. ½ E.	28	27		2		Ob. 13 12	Various.	
	30	N. by W.	9	8			2	Ob. 13 20	Various.	
				Carry'd over		15	2293			

1694. Mont.	Days.	Course.	Dist.	N.	S.	E.	W.	Latitude.	Winds.
October	1	Calm.						R. 13° 20′ N.	
	2	Calm.							
	3	Calm.							
	4	S. by W. ¼ W.	38		36		9	Ob. 12 44	W.
	5	W.	15				15		S. by W.
	6	W. by N.	36	6			35	R. 12 50	S. S. W.
	7	N. W. by W.	81	45			67	R. 13 35	S. W.
	8	N. W. by W. ½ W.	64	30			56	Ob. 14. 03	S. W. by W.
	9	N. W.	29	20			20	Ob. 14 24	Various.
	10	W. N. W.	12	4			11	R. 14 28	
	11	W.	50				50		N. E.
	12		42				42	Ob. 14 16	E. N. E.
	13		78				78	Ob. 14 20	S. E.
	14		72				72		E.
	15		70				70		E. N. E.
	16		59				59	Ob. 14 5	E.
	17		56				56		E. N. E.
	18		48				48	Ob. 13 50	
	19		12				12		
	20		30				30		S. E.
	21	W. by S.	78		15		76	Ob. 13 34	E. by N.
	22		104		20		102	Ob. 13 12	N. E.
	23	W.	78				78	Ob. 13 14	N. N. E.
	24		66				66	Ob. 13 17	E. N. E.
	25	W. ½ S.	93		9		92	Ob. 13 7	
	26	W.	124				124		N. E.
	27		60				60	Ob. 13	Various.
	28	W. ½ N.	76	7			75	Ob. 13 8	
	29	W. ¼ N.	82	4			81	Ob. 13 12	N. E.
	30	W.	80				80	Ob. 13 15	N. N. E.
	31	W. by S.	70		13		68	Ob. 13 5	E. by N.
Novemb.	1	W.	68				68	Ob. 13 2	
	2		52				52	Ob. 13 15	E.
	3	W. S. W.	28		10		25	Ob. 13 4	
	4	W. by N.	21	4			20	13 8	
							1797		
		Brought over from the other side				15	2293		
							4090		
		Easting deducted is					15		
		Total westing made to *Barbadoes* is					4075	miles, 67° 54′, or leagues 1358.	

This TABLE is so plain, that it needs no illustrating; only, that in the column of latitude, where R. is against the latitude, 'tis meant latitude by dead reckoning; and where Ob. is against the latitude, 'tis meant latitude by observation.

I shall now proceed to recount what extraordinarily occurr'd to us in our voyage, exclusive of the course of sailing, &c. supply'd by the above table; beginning where we left off, *viz.*

From *Sunday* the 26th of *August* we us'd all our diligence to get to the southward of the equator, for the steady S. E. winds that constantly blow that side, but were so held by the nose with S. S. W. and S. W. winds, that we could not cross the line till *Sunday* the 2d of *September*, having then made W. departure from the island of St. *Thomas* 492 miles, or leagues 164.

We continued creeping to the southward for fresher gales till *Monday* the 10th, when I found we were in latitude 2° 30′ south, having a brave stiff gale at S. E. and S. S. E. smooth water, and clear weather, but felt it very cold, considering where we were. I observ'd, that the more we went to the southward, the stronger we had the winds, and the more they veer'd to the eastward; but esteeming our selves southerly enough, and having as much wind, and as fair as we did desire, we steer'd away W. keeping about the same latitude, with the winds always be-

PHILLIPS. October, 1694.

between the S. by E. and E. by S. till *Sunday* the 16th, when judging that we had run a ſufficient diſtance weſt to the ſouthward of the line, we alter'd our courſe to N. W. and N. N. W. to croſs it again to the northward; which we did upon the 18th, finding our ſelves at noon that day by our obſervation in 00° 8′ north latitude, having then made meridian diſtance in all from the iſland of St. *Thomas* to the weſtward 30° 40′, or leagues 613, of which we ran 449 leagues, or twenty-two degrees and an half, on the ſouth ſide of the line.

We now made it our care to get to the N. for the other trade-wind, keeping our courſe N. N. W. and N. W. having our old wind ſtill attending us at S. S. E. and S. E. but blowing fainter every day till *Monday* the 24th, when we being in latitude 9° 20′ N. it took its final leave of us, having then made weſting in all from St. *Thomas* 37° 9′, or leagues 743. The winds came about to W. N. W. and W. with many ſhowers of rain, and dirty ſqually weather; from which time we had faint whiffling various winds, and tedious troubleſome calms, till the 4th of *October*, being in 12° 44′ north latitude, it ſettled at W. and S. W. with dirty ſtormy weather; therefore being apprehenſive of a long paſſage, I put our men to ſhort allowance of proviſions, and to two quarts of water a man *per* day, boiling our proviſions in ſalt water.

We continued perplexed with calms (in which the heats were moſt intenſe and unſupportable) ſmall gales, between the W. and S. W. till the eleventh, we were in 14° 28′, being then to the W. of St. *Thomas* 42° 21′, or leagues 847, much admiring that we did not fall in with the N. E. trade wind, being we were ſo far north; but that evening ſprung up a ſmall gale at N. E. which continued ſhuffling between the N. E. and S. E. blowing gently till the 20th, when it began to freſhen, continuing between the aforeſaid points, we ſteering W. by S. and W. for *Barbadoes*, and keeping as near as we could in 13° 12′ N. the allowed latitude of that iſland, till the 4th

Novemb. of *November* at noon we diſcried it, bearing off us W. by N. diſtant 7 leagues. I had then very good obſervation in 13° 4′ N. ſo that I make the iſland to lie in 13° 8′, and 68° 49′ meridian diſtance weſt of St. *Thomas*: and whatever ſome pretend, that 'tis but 60 or 62 degrees weſt longitude from *Cape Lopus*, I muſt beg their excuſe, if I believe they are miſtaken, notwithſtanding their poſitiveneſs and magiſterialneſs in aſſerting it; for I am ſure we kept our reckoning with all the care and art that navigation could furniſh us with. We ſtood in till 4, when being within 3 leagues of the iſland, we laid the ſhip's head off, and lay by till morning, when we fill'd our ſails, and bore away along the iſland for *Carliſle* bay. About 5 in the evening we got about *Needham*'s point, and ſoon let go our anchor in 20 fathom water, having not time to birth our ſelves that night; but next morning we warp'd into 8 fathom, and moor'd our ſhip ſecure; for which mercy God be prais'd.

We ſpent in our paſſage from St. *Thomas* to *Barbadoes* two months eleven days, from the 25th of *Auguſt* to the 4th of *November* following: in which time there happen'd ſuch ſickneſs and mortality among my poor men and negroes, that of the firſt we buried 14, and of the laſt 320, which was a great detriment to our voyage, the royal *African* company loſing ten pounds by every ſlave that died, and the owners of the ſhip ten pounds ten ſhillings, being the freight agreed on to be paid them by the charter-party for every negroe deliver'd alive aſhore to the *African* company's agents at *Barbadoes*; whereby the loſs in all amounted to near 6560 pounds ſterling. The diſtemper which my men as well as the blacks moſtly died of, was the white flux, which was ſo violent and inveterate, that no medicine would in the leaſt check it; ſo that when any of our men were ſeiz'd with it, we eſteem'd him a dead man, as he generally proved. I cannot imagine what ſhould cauſe it in them ſo ſuddenly, they being free from it till about a week after we left the iſland of St. *Thomas*. And next to the malignity of the climate, I can attribute it to nothing elſe but the unpurg'd black ſugar, and raw unwholeſome rum they bought there, of which they drank in punch to great exceſs, and which it was not in my power to hinder, having chaſtis'd ſeveral of them, and flung over-board what rum and ſugar I could find; and was forc'd to clap one *Lord*, our trumpeter, in irons, for his being the promoter of their unſeaſonable carouſing bouts, and going in one of his drunken fits with his knife to kill the boatſwain in his bed, and committing other enormities: but tho' he remained upon the poop day and night in irons for two months, without any other ſhelter than the canopy of heaven, he was never troubled with any ſickneſs, but made good the proverb, *That naught's never in danger, or that he who is born to be hang'd*, &c. I have given ſome account of him elſewhere, therefore ſhall ſay no more here.

A fatal diſeaſe.

The

The negroes are ſo incident to the ſmall-pox, that few ſhips that carry them eſcape without it, and ſometimes it makes vaſt havock and deſtruction among them: but tho' we had 100 at a time ſick of it, and that it went thro' the ſhip, yet we loſt not above a dozen by it. All the aſſiſtance we gave the diſeaſed was only as much water as they deſir'd to drink, and ſome palm-oil to anoint their ſores, and they would generally recover without any other helps but what kind nature gave them.

One thing is very ſurprizing in this diſtemper among the blacks, that tho' it immediately infects thoſe of their own colour, yet it will never ſeize a white man; for I had ſeveral white men and boys aboard that had never had that diſtemper, and were conſtantly among the blacks that were ſick of it, yet none of them in the leaſt catch'd it, tho' it be the very ſame malady in its effects, as well as ſymptoms, among the blacks, as among us in *England*, beginning with the pain in the head, back, ſhivering, vomiting, fever, *&c.* But what the ſmall-pox ſpar'd, the flux ſwept off, to our great regret, after all our pains and care to give them their meſſes in due order and ſeaſon, keeping their lodgings as clean and ſweet as poſſible, and enduring ſo much miſery and ſtench ſo long among a parcel of creatures naſtier than ſwine; and after all our expectations to be defeated by their mortality. No gold-finders can endure ſo much noiſome ſlavery as they do who carry negroes; for thoſe have ſome reſpite and ſatisfaction, but we endure twice the miſery; and yet by their mortality our voyages are ruin'd, and we pine and fret our ſelves to death, to think that we ſhould undergo ſo much miſery, and take ſo much pains to ſo little purpoſe.

I deliver'd alive at *Barbadoes* to the company's factors 372, which being ſold, came out at about nineteen pounds *per* head one with another.

A hurricane. About three weeks ere I arriv'd at *Barbadoes* there happen'd a very ſevere hurricane, which had put moſt of the ſhips in the road aſhore, of which I ſaw about 8 or 9 beat to pieces among the rocks. The *Briſtol* man of war captain *Gurney* ſlipt his cables, and got out to ſea ere the violence of it came, and return'd after it was over. The *Play-Prize*, captain *Bowls*, with two or three more ſhips, rid it out; and the *Tiger* captain *Sherman*, who had parted hence with col. *Kendal*, the late governor, for *England*, met with ſuch violent ſtorms, that he loſt his maſt, and was forced to put back for this iſland to refit. PHILLIPS. Novemb. 1694. Barbadoes. *Plague.*

I ſhall pretend to give no account of this iſland, which is ſo well known, being one of our own plantations, but only obſerve, that tho' it be a pretty pleaſant ſpot, and inhabited by a great many worthy hoſpitable gentlemen, yet it was it's fate now to be violently infected with the plague, ſo that in the late war it proved a perfect grave to moſt that came there, all new-comers being generally ſeiz'd with the peſtilenee; of which very few recover'd. Capt. *Thomas Sherman*, in his majeſty's ſhip *Tiger*, in two years that he lay there, bury'd out of her 600 men, as he told me, tho' his complement was but 220, but ſtill preſſing new out of the merchant ſhips that came in, to recruit his number in the room of thoſe that died daily. I loſt about 18 of my men by it, and, in truth, did not expect to eſcape myſelf, and therefore was ſo indifferent, that there was not a friend or acquaintance of mine ſeiz'd with the diſtemper, but I freely and frequently went to viſit him, which poſſibly was the reaſon that I eſcaped it, by having accuſtom'd myſelf to the town, and moſt infectious air, from the beginning, which I did by advice of the ever honoured and worthy Col. *Kendal*; to whoſe kindneſs and affection I was beholden for a great many benefits and good offices here (being myſelf a ſtranger to the iſland,) while thoſe that kept in the country, in better air, for fear of it, were commonly infected when they came on any buſineſs to town. Here died about 20 maſters of ſhips during my ſtay here; of which number were poor Capt. *Gurney* and *Bowls*, that commanded his majeſty's ſhips *Briſtol* and *Play-prize*. I was lodg'd in *Bridgtown*, at the houſe of Mr. *William Shaller*, from whom I receiv'd a great deal of civility and aſſiſtance in my buſineſs, upon the account and recommendation of my honeſt old friend, Mr. *Roger Shaller* of *London*, his brother; and indeed I receiv'd a great deal of reſpect and kind treatment from all the honeſt gentlemen in the iſland, who are very generous, and for whom I ſhall ever entertain an honourable eſteem.

Having got aboard near 700 hogſheads of ſugars, at nine and ten ſhillings *per* hundred freight for *Muſcovadoes*, and 11 for *Clay'd*; ſome cotton at 2 *d. per lb.* and ginger at 8 *s. per cent.* we got all clear to ſail againſt the 2d of *April*, the *Tiger* man of war being then ready to carry Col. *Kendal* to *England*, and to take under her convoy ſuch ſhips as were ready to ſail at that time, of which there were ſmall and great about 30, 7 of which were merchant-men of 28 guns

PHILLIPS. May, 1694.

guns and upwards each, and were order'd by Capt. *Sherman* to make the line of battle, in caſe we met an enemy, he being pleas'd to appoint me, in the *Hannibal*, to lead on the ſtarboard tack, and Capt. *Buttrom*, in the *Faulkenberg*, on the larboard tack, in caſe of engaging, while himſelf kept the centre; and the other ſhips of the line were diſpos'd for ſeconds. Col. *Kendal* having diſengaged himſelf from the multitude of gentlemen that came to attend him, and wiſh him a good voyage, the 2d of *April* in the evening got aboard the *Tiger*, with a diſcharge of all the cannon round the town; and the 3d in the evening we ſet ſail for *England*, with the *Cheſter* man of war in our company, which Col. *Cothrington*, the general of the leeward iſlands, had ſent from *Antigua* to *Barbadoes*, to ſtrengthen our convoy, till we were paſt *Diſeada*, upon advice he had receiv'd, that there was a ſquadron of *French* men of war from *Martinico*, waiting for us thereabouts.

Wedneſday the 3d. Yeſterday about 4 in the evening we got under ſail, and ſtood out of *Carliſle* bay, and then laid our foretop-ſail to the maſt, and drove to leeward to wait for the reſt of the fleet: At ſeven were abreaſt the hole. We had great poppling ſea, but little wind at night, till this day at noon.

Thurſday the 4th. From noon yeſterday we had but little wind till ſix in the evening, at which time had a ſmall gale at E. the iſland of *Barbadoes* then bearing S. S. E. diſtant ſeven leagues.

From *Thurſday* the 4th, until *Sunday* the 7th, the *Cheſter* kept us company, when eſteeming ourſelves clear of all danger, ſhe ſtood away for *Antigua*. We have had the winds at E. and E. by N. lying up N. N. E. and N. by E. until *Friday* the 12th of *April*, the wind veer'd to S. E. by E. and S. E. fine gales; and *Monday* the 15th to S. S. S. W. and S. W. we ſteering N. N. E. and N. E. by N. with good weather, till *Thurſday* the 18th. At noon we were in latitude 29° 24′ N. having then made from *Barbadoes* 80 miles eaſting, the ſea being cover'd over with a yellowiſh ſort of weed, like ruſhes, drove from the gulph of *Florida* with the violent current there.

Friday the 19th. In the morning 'twas my unhappineſs to be ſeized with violent convulſions in my head, together with a vertigo, ſo that I could not ſtand, and all things I look'd on turn'd round; the vertigo was much allay'd ſoon, but the convulſions continued ſo ſevere upon me, that I was forced for moſt part to keep my bed, till we made the iſland of *Scilly*, which was upon the 22d of *May*, in which time the hearing of my left ear was much impair'd, I having loſt the hearing of my right ear upon the coaſt of *Guiney*, by a former fit: And now having none to look after me, (my doctor having died of the plague in *Barbadoes*) my deafneſs increas'd daily. There was nothing remarkable in our paſſage, but the death of madam *North*, Col. *Ruſſel*'s daughter-in-law; and the misfortune befell one of my cabbin boys, who playing with the tiger in his cage, with his hand, a long time without any offence; at length he ſcratch'd his hand againſt the point of a nail, ſo that it bled a little; as ſoon as the tiger ſaw the blood, he ſeiz'd upon his hand, and in an inſtant tore it to pieces, almoſt as far as the wriſt ere we could diſengage him, the ends of the nerves and torn ſinews hanging about like ſtrings, moſt diſmal to behold. I fired a gun for the man of war to lie by, and ſent for his ſurgeon, who dreſs'd it, till with a north-eaſt wind we put into *Falmouth*, on the 24th of *May*, where I left him aſhore with the beſt ſurgeon in the town for cure, and parted thence the 28th, with the wind at N. W. but coming out of the harbour, my mate run the ſhip aground, as an earneſt or omen of what follow'd after. With the aſſiſtance of my friend Capt. *Sherman*'s boat, ſhe was ſoon got afloat again, without any damage, and join'd the reſt of the fleet. The 29th in the morning we were off of *Plymouth* ſound, and in the evening that day off the *Start*, we join'd the homeward bound *Bilboa* fleet, under convoy of Capt. *Hughs*, in the *Rocheſter*, and Capt. *Guy* in the *Crown* men of war, with whom we continu'd till we came to the eaſt of *Beachyhead*, when the wind taking us ſhort at E. N. E. we thought to tide it into the *Downs*; accordingly the firſt of *June*, plying to windward with the tide of flood, and my mate, who was drunk, ſtanding with the ſhip off ſhore, and Capt. *Gillum*, a *New England* man, of 28 guns, ſtanding in, the two ſhips drawing nigh, and both, thro' obſtinacy and folly, refuſing to bear up, or tack in time, they run aboard each other, our ſtemlings in her midſhips, and beat her ſide in ſo, that he was forc'd to bring his ſhip upon the heel with his guns, to keep her from ſinking, but he carry'd away our ſhip's head and boltſprit, foremaſt and foretopmaſt, ſunk our three boats that were aſtern, and had not the *Hannibal* been a ſtrong well-built old ſhip, 'twas enough to have ſunk her too: I was in my bed extremely ſick, and knew nothing of the accident, till my ſteward came running into my round-houſe, with his hands lifted up, tears in his eyes, and terror and confuſion in his face: I could not hear what he ſaid, nor

June.

nor imagine what was the matter, but full of conſternation, twenty miſchiefs preſented themſelves to my thoughts at once, as fire, running aground, the enemy, foundring, *&c.* but getting out of bed as faſt as I could, and crawling to the cuddy door, I ſaw the ſad diſaſter, and the poor ſhip like a wreck floating in the ſea, with her maſt and rigging dangling about her ears. I caus'd them immediately to make a weff with our enſign, and fire guns for help; and the *Rocheſter* and *Crown* men of war very kindly bore down to us, and my old acquaintance Capt. *Guy* (who had formerly been lieutenant of the *Hannibal*, when ſhe was employ'd as a 4th rate in his majeſty's ſervice) took the end of our ſtream-cable into his gun-room-port, and tow'd us after him for *Spithead*, where all the ſhips were now crouding for, the wind being contrary, and looking like dirty weather: He likewiſe ſent his lieutenant, boatſwain, and 30 able ſeamen to help right up my ſhip, and fix ſome jury maſts; we were forced to cut away and looſe our boats, and moſt of our broken maſts and rigging, my old drunken beaſt of a mate *Robſon*, that was the occaſion of it, lying dead drunk aſleep upon the forecaſtle, while ours and the men of wars men got down the maintop-maſt, and fitted him for a jury foremaſt, and the maintop-gallant-maſt for a foretop-maſt, making a boltſprit of an old boom we had; we ſet our mainſail, and with that and our ſmall ſails afore, together with the *Crown*'s tugging of us, we got ſafe to *Spithead*, where all the reſt of the ſhips were come before.

This laſt unexpected accident, ſo near home, did ſo grieve and afflict me, that my convulſions grew more violent than ever, whereby before we reach'd *Spithead*, my hearing was quite gone: When our ſhip was anchor'd, I ſent an account to Sir *Jeffrey Jeffreys*, and other owners, of our diſaſter, and of the ſhip's and my own condition, requeſting they would pleaſe to ſend down a commander, mate, and boatſwain, to take care of their ſhip, and refit her for her paſſage to *London*, I being render'd incapable to do it, thro' my deafneſs and indiſpoſition, and had diſcharg'd my mate as ſoon as we came to *Spithead*. Accordingly Capt. *John Hereford* was diſpatch'd with proper officers down to *Portſmouth*; to whom by my owners direction I reſign'd the command of their ſhip; and after having deliver'd two cheſts of gold I had aboard, to the royal *African* company's ſervants, who came with a guard for it, I went along with them in the coach up for *London*, in order to recover my health and hearing, having taken ſome phyſick and let blood in the arm and forehead, for my giddineſs at *Portſmouth*. PHILLIPS. Auguſt, 1694.

When I came to *London*, thro' the kindneſs and good-will of my friends and acquaintance, who were ſorry to ſee me return in that condition, I was adviſed to a great many applauded phyſicians, who all pretended they would cure my deafneſs: I went under the care of ſeveral of them, who were the moſt celebrated in that famous city, by whoſe orders I was tormented by the apothecaries, with doſes of naſty phyſick every day, for four or five months time, and butcher'd by the ſurgeons with bliſters, iſſues, ſetons, *&c.* and ſpent about 100 guineas among them, without receiving a farthing benefit; wherefore I did conceive it more prudence to bear my deafneſs as contentedly as I could, than any longer to undergo ſo much miſery and charge, to no purpoſe; accordingly I ſhook hands with the doctors, and being render'd unfit for my employment, by my deafneſs, I ſettled my affairs in *London*, took my leave of it, and came down to *Wales*, among my relations in *Brecknock*, my native town, there to ſpend the reſt of my life as eaſily as I can, under my hard misfortune.

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Phillips, Thomas

A Journal of a Voyage Made in the Hannibal of London, Ann. 1693, 1694, From England, to Cape's Monseradoe, in Africa, And thence along the Coast of Guiney to Whidaw, the Island of St. Thomas, An so forward to Barbadoes With a Cursory Account of the County, the People, their Manners, Forts,

[London] [1732]

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